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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

DOCUMENTS

REVIEWS

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What Is and What Was the Lithuanian Metrica? The Contents, History, and Organization of the Chancery Archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*

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The "Lithuanian Metrica,"[1] as the term is often used loosely, refers to a miscellaneous collection of state records of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the fifteenth through the end of the eighteenth century and other documentation from the state archives of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. There are well over six hundred large volumes, now divided between the major historical archives in Moscow and Warsaw, as well as some material in other collections that in one way or another are viewed as part of the Metrica complex. Together the volumes have had as stormy a history as the lands in which they were produced and have traditionally aroused the interest of scholars and educated laymen alike.

* An earlier version (in French) of this paper was presented at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, 10 November and 3 December 1981. This study owes much to the continuing advice and assistance of Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, with whom I have been collaborating for several years in the study of the Lithuanian Metrica. I am also grateful to Professors Zbigniew Wójcik, Tadeusz Wasilewski, and Aleksander Gieysztor for their comments and advice. My research has been supported by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, with additional funds from the Ukrainian Studies Fund. Research in the Soviet Union and in Poland has been made possible by the academic exchange program of IREX, together with the support and cooperation of my host institutions and of archives and scholars in both countries. I thank especially the staff of both the Central State Archive of Early Acts (TsGADA) in Moscow and the Main Archive of Early Acts (AGAD) in Warsaw for their assistance and cooperation in the preparation of this study. I regret that it was impossible for me to return to Moscow to verify details in the final text. Expanded versions of parts of this study are soon to appear in Polish translation as two separate articles, one in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* and the other in *Archeion*.

[1] Russian, *Litovskaia metrika*; Polish, *Metryka Litewska*. "Metrica," although not usually found in English, is being anglicized from the Latin form for use in this article. Since, as explained below, the term has acquired so many different usages, it is important to retain a word close to the original, because in English different usages would have to be translated with different words, there being no single English equivalent.

Historians have long recognized the importance of the Lithuanian Metrica for the study of the Lithuanian, Latvian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian lands. Since most of the area to which the documentation relates was annexed by the Russian Empire in the partitions of Poland, this unique body of sources is also important for Russian history — so much so, in fact, that most of the extant volumes are now closely guarded in Moscow. And since most of the area, long part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, has had strong Polish ethnic, cultural, and religious ties, the collection has equal importance for Polish history. It must be applauded, then, that early in 1979, the Academies of Sciences of the Soviet Union and Poland jointly launched a publication project to produce a complete edition of the extensive and varied sources encompassed by the collection.[2]

A thorough, scholarly analysis of the history and organization of the Lithuanian Metrica complex has never been undertaken. There is no complete inventory that describes the manuscripts and identifies the provenance and content of the materials involved. Indeed, considerable confusion reigns today over what constitutes the body of sources slated for publication under the title "Lithuanian Metrica." No one has ever stopped to ask, "What is this group of archival materials we now call the Lithuanian Metrica? Where did the volumes come from originally? When and how did they come together? How were they passed down to us over the centuries? Do all of the materials remaining under the title today actually constitute contiguous records, and what other extant sources belong with them? How should these materials be arranged in an ideal archival inventory, and how should they be organized for publication?" Complicated questions these are,

[2] A protocol by representatives of the Institute of History of the USSR of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences was signed in Moscow in February 1979, at the close of an initial planning session. Newspapers have reported on the plan: R. Kiersnowski, "Wielkie wydarzenie edytorskie," *Życie Warszawy,* 1979, no. 83 (April 11), p. 9; and P. Łossowski, "Dokumenty naszych walk narodowowyzwoleńczych," *Perspektywy,* 1979, no. 45(532) (November 9), pp. 39–40. See the additional reports about editorial plans and about the Soviet-Polish historical colloquium on the Lithuanian Metrica held in Warsaw, 15–17 December 1980: "Prace nad wydaniem Metryki Litewskiej — Polsko-radziecka umowa," *Życie Warszawy,* 1980, no. 303 (December 27–28), p. 2, and "Metryka Litewska," *Perspektywy,* 1981, no. 2 (January 9), p. 6. There is also a longer report by V. T. Pashuto and A. L. Khoroshkevich, "Sovmestnaia publikatsiia sovetskikh i pol'skikh istorikov," *Voprosy istorii,* 1981, no. 2, pp. 158–60, and a report by Tadeusz Wasilewski, "Polsko-radzieckie prace nad wydaniem Metryki Litewskiej," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 88, no. 4 (1981): 1169–71.

but they demand answers before a scholarly publication project proceeds.

In its most technical sense the term "Lithuanian Metrica" signifies the chancery registers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, wherein were inscribed as permanent records copies of the most important, predominantly outgoing, chancery documentation from the fifteenth through the end of the eighteenth century. However, the term also has been and still is used loosely to refer to a specific, but often varying complex of archival materials from the Grand Duchy that were kept together over the centuries. The alternate, overlapping, and sometimes simultaneous use of both these meanings has wrought considerable confusion and historical misunderstanding about the archival records of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

To use these materials as historical sources, it is naturally important to understand the circumstances, purpose, and order of their creation in the chanceries of the Grand Duchy. But because of the overlapping meanings of the term and the record-keeping practices involved, it is also important to understand the general organization and the radical changes in arrangement that the Lithuanian Metrica — in the sense of the complex of records that were retained together — has undergone. The two problems are intricately related in the contents and arrangement of the extant documentation.

Today the bulk of the extant Lithuanian chancery registers remain in Moscow in the archival record group usually referred to as the "Fond of the Lithuanian Metrica" (fond 389) in the Central State Archive of Early Acts — TsGADA (Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov). However, many of the volumes in that fond are not actual Lithuanian chancery registers, and a number of chancery registers are now located elsewhere, including an important group in Warsaw in the Main Archive of Early Acts — AGAD (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych). Most of the Lithuanian Metrica volumes in these two archives are still identified by a sketchy inventory published in 1887, which was prepared by the Polish historian Stanisław Ptaszycki (1853–1933). Ptaszycki's inventory is based on the nineteenth-century organization of the Lithuanian Metrica, when it was held in St. Petersburg as part of a much larger collection of archival materials from the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[3]

[3] For an overview and summary inventory of the current organization of the Lithuanian Metrica complex, see *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw: An Annotated Edition of the 1887 Ptaszycki Inventory,* edited with an

An ideal, scholarly inventory of all extant parts of the Lithuanian Metrica is urgently needed. Such an inventory must try to reconstruct the order of the Lithuanian chancery registers as they were being created. It must also reconstruct the codicological and organizational history of the collections of which they are and have been part, and provide descriptions of the component manuscript units. For it is essential to determine the correlation between the Lithuanian Metrica complex such as it exists today and the original registers as they were being created and stored as part of different archival collections. Then it will be important to prepare detailed inventories of other basic groups of institutional records from the Grand Duchy and to establish their correlation with parts of the present Lithuanian Metrica complex.

This essay sets forth some of the underlying problems involved in establishing such an inventory for the Lithuanian Metrica. We will first consider the various meanings of the term "Lithuanian Metrica" and then the interrelated problems of the changing organization and contents of the Metrica corpus over the centuries. Finally, we will return to the sequence and groups or series among the Lithuanian chancery registers as they were originally composed and arranged in the chanceries of the Grand Duchy. Together these considerations should clarify questions about the Metrica corpus and its history and hence facilitate its use as a historical source and the preparation of an ideal inventory.

1. PROBLEMS OF IDENTITY AND ORIGINAL CONTENTS

Before turning to the history, provenance, and overall organization of the Metrica complex, we must consider the term "Lithuanian Metrica" itself. For indeed, over the centuries the term has been used in different contexts to signify various groups of materials. Historically it has been used most often to refer to a limited but constantly growing body of materials that were passed on from chancellor to chancellor

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introduction by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, with the collaboration of Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa (Newtonville, Mass.: Oriental Research Partners, forthcoming). The volume provides an augmented, revised edition of the last published inventory of the Lithuanian Metrica, prepared by Stanisław Ptaszycki (S. L. Ptashitskii), *Opisanie knig i aktov Litovskoi Metriki* (St. Petersburg, 1887). Marginal annotations in the new edition indicate the current code numbers of the materials remaining in TsGADA; also given are the numbers in AGAD for the approximately half of the materials of Polish provenance listed by Ptaszycki that were subsequently revindicated to Warsaw. More information about this inventory is given below.

and that thus constituted the official chancery records of the Grand Duchy. These were usually kept together and presided over by an officially appointed keeper, the "Metricant."

In its most circumscribed historical and archival usage, with reference to pre-partition Poland and Lithuania, "metrica" usually refers specifically to a record book or register containing officially inscribed copies of documents.[4] Inscriptions were usually made when the document was prepared or issued, but sometimes they were added later, from drafts or other copies. Thus metrica books were not always consecutive records with a strict time sequence of entries or subject-matter divisions. When metrica books were bound, they were not always bound in their original sequence and loose documents or fragmentary books were sometimes bound with them. Since many such metrica books were later recopied and rebound, it is very difficult to determine what constituted an original metrica book or the original sequence of such books. But regardless of their subsequent fate, "metrica" technically referred to the books themselves, as opposed to, and exclusive of, the original outgoing documents or other original incoming documents that may have been received by the chancery involved.

By extension, the term "Lithuanian Metrica" has been used technically — and by all means should continue to be used specifically — to refer to the formal chancery register books of the Grand Duchy that were kept as permanent records of various documents issued by the grand ducal chancery (Latin, *Metrica maior*) and vice chancery (Latin, *Metrica minor*) from the fifteenth century to the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This usage has developed in contradistinction to the parallel group of royal chancery registers of the Kingdom of Poland, the Crown Metrica (*Metryka Koronna* or, Latin, *Metrica Regni Poloniae*).[5]

[4] The authoritative *Polski Słownik Archiwalny,* compiled by T. Grygier et al., edited by Wanda Maciejewska (Warsaw, 1974), defines "metrica" first of all as "a book of inscriptions in the royal chanceries of early Poland and Lithuania" (p. 52), without mentioning use in the more general sense of "archive." The same usage as chancery register is given in *Słownik Staropolski,* 4 (1963): 182, with an early example quoted from a judicial register dated 1490. For the medieval Roman Catholic church the equivalent would be the *regester,* or register of copies of outgoing documents.

The second and third usages of the term "metrica" cited by the Polish archival glossary are irrelevant to our present inquiry: the second is as an entry in a registration book, such as a school or university matriculation register; the third is as an entry in a book or register of vital statistics, such as a parish register of births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths.

[5] The term "Crown" (Polish, *Koronna*) is used in Polish — and hence here — to

Although the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania were one and the same person for most of the period, the chanceries of the Crown and the Grand Duchy were always separate. After the marriage of the Lithuanian grand duke Jagiełło (in Lithuanian, Jogaila) with Jadwiga in 1386 and Jagiełło's assumption of the Polish crown (1386–1434), chancery practices and the administrative and legal system in the Grand Duchy came under more direct Polish influence. The existence of an educated — and predominantly Polish — administrative elite in the Lithuanian chancery contributed to developments in record keeping along the Polish model. The process started under the reign of Vytautas (in Polish, Witold), grand duke from 1392 to 1430.[6]

We have good evidence that the Lithuanian Metrica was from its beginning modelled after the Crown Metrica and adopted many of its forms. It is not known when the practice of keeping chancery registers for outgoing documentation was started in the Grand Duchy, but the first mention of a metrica register for the Polish Crown chancery dates from 1407.[7] The first firm evidence of the practice in the Lithuanian chancery comes from the year 1431, during the short reign (1430–1432) of Grand Duke Świdrygiełło (in Lithuanian, Švitrigaila).[8] By the mid-fifteenth century registers were apparently being kept systematically for outgoing chancery documentation and judicial decisions. However, extant registers with entries from the fifteenth century are fragmentary and now exist only in late sixteenth-century copies.

As might be expected, chancery practices developed similarly for the Crown and the Grand Duchy, particularly after the creation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the Union of Lublin in 1569.

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refer to the Kingdom of Poland, in contradistinction to "Lithuanian," which refers to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

6 See Marceli Kosman, "Kancelaria wielkiego księcia Witolda," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 14 (1969): 91–119, and Kosman's earlier article, "Archiwum Wielkiego Księcia Witolda," *Archeion* 46 (1967): 129–38.

7 See the discussion of early Crown chancery record-keeping practices by Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *Dokumenty królewskie i ich funkcja w panstwie polskim za Andegawenów i pierwszych Jagiellonów, 1370–1444* (Warsaw, 1977), especially pp. 82–84. For more details about the Crown Metrica and an inventory of the extant volumes in AGAD, see *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej: Księgi wpisów i dekretów polskiej kancelarii królewskiej z lat 1447–1795,* compiled by Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa and Maria Woźniakowa (Warsaw, 1975).

8 The first reference to a Lithuanian Metrica register occurs in a document dated 21 May 1431, held in the Provincial State Archive in Cracow (Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie), Rusiecki Collection, parchment no. 121. See the full citation and further notes about the history of the Lithuanian Metrica in the helpful article by Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska — charakterystyka i dzieje," *Archeion* 65 (1977): 91–118.

Hence there are many formal similarities between the Crown Metrica and the Lithuanian Metrica. Obviously, some state documents of the Commonwealth were issued in the name of both the king and the grand duke, and hence would have been inscribed in the registers of both chanceries. Also, because of the overlap in chancery business and personnel, some documents relating to the Grand Duchy appear in the registers of the Crown Metrica. Occasionally, a few stray volumes, either erroneously or by specific intent, became lodged with the wrong group. Nevertheless, the two groups of chancery books were always maintained separately.

The fact that the two groups of high chancery records were always stored separately before the eighteenth century led to some major differences in their organization and sequencing. The differences were not always recognized, particularly — as will be seen later — after the partitions of the Commonwealth, when both groups of records were brought to St. Petersburg and inventoried together. Nonetheless, despite variations in organization and storage, distinctly recognizable types of metrica registers were kept for the Grand Duchy, similar to those kept by the Crown chancery.

Most important and varied of the different types were the "books of inscriptions," which contained copies of grants of land, nobility, or other privileges; royal letters and other official documents prepared or issued by the chancery or vice-chancery; other charters or acts issued in the name of the Grand Duke or the Sejm; and international treaties and other documents issued in the name of the Commonwealth.

In both Crown and Lithuanian chanceries, inscriptions were usually made in the language in which the documents were issued. Through the sixteenth century, Belorussian in its late medieval form (often called Ruthenian)[9] was the predominant chancery language in the Grand Duchy, although Latin was used in some areas, as it was throughout the Crown lands. Some documents appeared in Latin in the Grand Duchy as late as the seventeenth century. Polish began to

[9] Linguists differ over a designation for the East Slavic written language used in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the late fourteenth through the seventeenth century, which became the chancery language. Though clearly divergent from Muscovite Russian, the language is scarcely distinguishable from the written form used in the Ukraine. In English it is sometimes called "Ruthenian" (*Ruski* in Polish). Linguists increasingly classify it as an early form of Belorussian, frequently with the designation "Middle Belorussian." See the article by George Shevelov, "Belorussian versus Ukrainian: Delineation of Texts before A.D. 1568," *Journal of Byelorussian Studies* 3, no. 2 (1974): 145–56.

appear in registers during the sixteenth century, became dominant in both Crown and Grand Ducal chanceries during the seventeenth, and continued to be so through the eighteenth century.[10]

Through the early sixteenth century, the main inscription books sometimes contained copies of legal decrees, protocols, and other judicial documents issued by the chancery, but these were recorded in separate books as record-keeping practices became more refined. Usually, these books formed separate series for judicial proceedings in the higher, predominantly appellate, courts presided over by the chancellor or vice-chancellor. Copies were also kept — frequently as separate books — of records and related documents from foreign legations of the Grand Duchy, although after 1569 the duchy's only legations were to Moscow, since all other foreign relations were handled by the Crown.

Separate books were also kept in the chancery for land surveys of royal estates or boundaries elsewhere in the Grand Duchy, although these were not necessarily produced in the chancery itself. Some financial transactions are also documented in chancery records, particularly in the early years before separate treasury records were kept. A number of additional miscellaneous volumes were held in the chanceries, some to record specific chancery functions, others to serve as chancery aids, and still others quite by happenstance. We will return to these problems in later discussion of the types of register books produced and stored in the chancery at different times.

Ideally, the term "Lithuanian Metrica" should be used only with reference to the formal Lithuanian chancery registers. But we must also be cognizant of the looser historical usages of the term. All too often it has referred to the entire varying corpus of materials that was stored, and later moved about with, the actual Lithuanian chancery registers. Realistically, then, it is impossible to avoid this broader usage entirely, because it has been perpetrated in written descriptions and inventories. What is most important, however, is to distinguish the differing complex of materials encompassed by the term at different times, and to recognize the precise and varying provenance of the materials involved.

Confusion is increased because the term "Lithuanian Metrica" was sometimes used historically, and occasionally still is today, to encom-

[10] The preeminence of Polish explains the need for the Latin-alphabet transcriptions and summaries of many earlier Cyrillic registers that were prepared after they were brought to Warsaw in the 1740s (see below).

pass other top-level records of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, along with the chancery registers themselves. It was also used to refer to various parts of those archives, such as groups of records from other institutions. Indeed, "metrica" was sometimes used as a general synonym for, or in lieu of, the term "archive" with reference to various groups of institutional records within the Grand Duchy.

In its extended usage covering high-level chancery archives, at some times the term "Lithuanian Metrica" may also have encompassed original charters and other original incoming documents, as well as the actual chancery registers. This could have occurred because many earlier, completed metrica registers were stored in the treasury of the castle in Vilnius along with the vaults or treasure chests of original documents. To add to the confusion, two of the register books traditionally kept with the Lithuanian Metrica are actually inventories of the original documents dating from 1386 to 1491 that were kept in the Vilnius castle treasury with the Metrica in the late sixteenth century.[11] Only a few of the original documents they list survive today, and none of them are still kept with the Lithuanian Metrica complex.

Original charters, treaties, and other incoming documents were obviously an integral part of the archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but from an archival standpoint, it makes sense to distinguish them clearly from the chancery metrica registers and hence not to consider them part of the Lithuanian Metrica. Such a distinction makes sense, because original documents from the Grand Ducal archives were usually separated from the chancery registers and had a quite different fate. For example, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, many parchment documents were removed by the Radziwiłł chancellors and stored in their own family estate archive in Nesvizh (Polish, Nieśwież), where for the most part they remained until after the First World War.[12] Those still extant have since been

[11] TsGADA, fond 389, no. 1 and no. 2 (a second copy of the same inventory). This inventory was published in *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag khraniashchikhsia v Moskovskom arkhive Ministerstva iustitsii,* vol. 21 (Moscow, 1921), pp. 323–472. Two eighteenth-century manuscript copies remain in AGAD in Warsaw, one in the Potocki Public Archive (APP 15) and the other with the Metrica transcriptions (ML 191A). An eighteenth-century index remains in the Czartoryski Library, in Cracow, MS 821.

[12] See the article by Jan Jakubowski, "Archiwum państwowe W. X. Litewskiego i jego losy," *Archeion* 9 (1931): 1–18. The Radziwiłł family claimed that the privilege of storing state documents was given to them by Sigismund Augustus in 1551, but the charter of privilege cited has proved to be a forgery. See Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Archiwum dokumentowe Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskie-

deposited in the Main Archive of Early Acts (AGAD) in Warsaw. A group of seventy-one parchments dating from 1401 to 1687, originally from the Lithuanian state archive, are now extant in AGAD, but none of these were ever inventoried as part of the Lithuanian Metrica.[13]

In eighteenth-century Warsaw, inventories of the Lithuanian Metrica never included original parchment documents and, like the parallel case of the Crown Metrica, the term was never used so broadly. However, the broader use of the term was current in Warsaw in the nineteenth century.[14] In nineteenth-century St. Petersburg and Moscow, the concept of the Lithuanian Metrica frequently embraced collections of documents as well as chancery registers. Indeed, the noted Russian historian, N. G. Berezhkov, who became one of the chief authorities on the Lithuanian Metrica, in a prerevolutionary statement specifically defined the Lithuanian Metrica as "the state archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania," and further explained that it accordingly includes both chancery registers and original acts or documents.[15] However, in his 1946 monograph regarding the Lithuanian Metrica, Berezhkov more precisely limits his opening definition to encompass only "the books of the state chancery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania."[16]

Since the Lithuanian Metrica registers were maintained as the official office or registry copy of documents issued by the chancery, they usually did not contain correspondence, drafts of documents, other miscellaneous office papers, or personal correspondence and other papers of individual chancellors. From time to time, however, such papers became lodged with the Metrica complex. When Metrica registers were later bound, such miscellaneous papers were occasion-

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go," in *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie: Przewodnik po zespołach,* pt. 1: *Archiwa dawnej Rzeczypospolitej,* 2nd ed., by Jadwiga Karwasińska (Warsaw, 1975), pp. 49–50.

13 This collection is identified in the guide *AGAD: Przewodnik,* pp. 49–50. A typewritten inventory of these parchments is available to researchers in AGAD.

14 A blatant example of the broadest use of the term "metrica" is to be found in the mid-nineteenth-century manuscript essay by Andrzej Guliński, "Historya Metryki Koronnej i Litewskiej" (Warsaw, 1853), AGAD, Nabytki no. 305.

15 Berezhkov, unsigned preface to the volume of inventories prepared before the Revolution, *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag MAMIu,* 21: xi. He failed to mention, however, that the original documents held with the Lithuanian Metrica then in Moscow had their provenance in the Cracow Crown Treasury Archive, and that they had not been stored anywhere near the Lithuanian Metrica before both were brought to St. Petersburg at the end of the eighteenth century.

16 N. G. Berezhkov, *Litovskaia metrika kak istoricheskii istochnik,* pt. 1: *O*

ally bound into the same volume, or in a separate volume and retained with the official Metrica registers themselves. Such volumes were often removed by individual chancellors or other high officials as part of their own personal papers. Hence it is not surprising to discover them in personal archives, sometimes with fragments or copies of Metrica books or even entire volumes of chancery registers. Obviously, it is important to distinguish groups of chancery papers from the official Metrica registers, although they, too, have prime value as historical sources and should be carefully identified in a full inventory of extant records from the Grand Duchy.

As mentioned earlier, the Lithuanian Metrica technically included only those documentary registers produced in or for the chancellor or vice-chancellor. Thus it encompassed only the highest level of documentation issued in the Grand Duchy. Records from other high-level state offices, such as the treasury, the military commandant (hetman, and later *voiskaia komissia*), or higher courts not presided over by the grand duke, e.g., the Lithuanian High Tribunal (*Glavnii litovskii tribunal*), were always maintained separately. They should remain carefully distinguished from the actual registers of the Lithuanian Metrica.[17]

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pervonachal'nom sostave knig Litovskoi metriki po 1522 god (Moscow and Leningrad, 1946), p. 3.

[17] Most other high state records from the Grand Duchy had remained stored in Vilnius and were brought together in the nineteenth century into what after 1852 was the Vilnius Archive of Early Register Books. During Polish rule, from 1921 to 1938, they were held in the successor State Archive in Vilnius. Under Soviet rule they have all been consolidated in the Central State Historical Archive of the Lithuanian SSR in Vilnius. There is no up-to-date inventory of records from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, or even a basic guide to the Historical Archive in Vilnius, but many of the holdings are well described in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century inventories by N. I. Gorbachevskii, *Katalog drevnim aktovym knigam gubernii: Vilenskoi, Grodnenskoi, Minskoi i Kovenskoi, takzhe knigam nekotorykh sudov gubernii Mogilevskoi i Smolenskoi, khraniashchimsia nyne v Tsentral'nom arkhive v Vil'ne* (Vilnius, 1872), pp. 143–66, and I. I. Sprogis, *Inwentarz b. Wileńskiego Archiwum Centralnego*, pt. 1: *Nr 1–11794* (Vilnius, 1929; "Wydawnictwa Archiwów Państwowych," 6), pp. 158–76. For details about these records, the Vilnius archives, and the published descriptions available, see my recently published directory, *Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the USSR: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Belorussia* (Princeton, 1981), especially pp. 290–91, 298–302, and 365–78. See also my article, "The Archival Legacy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: The Fate of Historical Archives in Vilnius," *Slavic and East European Review* 57 (October 1979): 552–71. The best earlier outline of archival records from the Grand Duchy is the report by Ryszard Mienicki, "Archiwa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego," in *Pamiętnik VI Powszechnego zjazdu historyków polskich w Wilnie, 17–20 wrzesnia 1935 r.*, 2 vols. (Lviv, 1935–36), 1: 403–413, 2: 187–91.

Invariably, stray volumes representing other high state functions, fragments of other records, or copies of important documents from other offices were needed by the chancery or were taken into custody by chancellors for various reasons, perhaps even by chance. As a result a number of such miscellaneous books have remained with the Metrica complex, and were even recopied and inventoried with the chancery records themselves. In using the Metrica complex as sources and in analyzing its components, it becomes very important to identify the exact provenance of these various extraneous components and to relate them to contingent records extant elsewhere.

Records of lower courts and administrative offices throughout the Grand Duchy were also always distinguished from the Lithuanian Metrica. Occasionally, however, the term "metrica" itself was used loosely with reference to their records. Such usage is understandable, because similar types of metrica register books were used throughout the Grand Duchy for the records of lower courts as were used for the courts presided over by the chancellor or the Grand Duke. Be that as it may, records of different local courts — such as the castle court (*grodskii sud/ sąd grodzki*) and land court (*zemskii sud/ sąd ziemski*) in each district (*povet/ powiat*) of each palatinate (*voievostvo/ województwo*) — were maintained separately, usually in the office where the sessions of the court took place.[18] These lower court registers were usually simply called "books" (*knigi/ księgi*), and only rarely does the term "metrica" occur officially with reference to these court records in the Grand Duchy.

These local court records were never officially considered part of the Lithuanian Metrica, nor should they ever be so considered. Later in the nineteenth century, when the areas of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania had all become part of the Russian Empire, these local court records were consolidated in Vilnius, Vitebsk, and Kiev, in special archives designated for their custody.[19] Now under Soviet archival

[18] See the mention of these courts in my *Archives*, especially pp. 288–90. It contains full citations to more detailed literature on the subject.

[19] Similar archives were established by imperial authorities in these three centers in the mid-nineteenth century. The one in Vitebsk lasted only to 1891, when all of its holdings were transferred to the Vilnius archive. The local court records that had been gathered in Vilnius in the nineteenth century were inventoried in 1872 by Gorbachevskii, *Katalog*, and later before the First World War by Sprogis, *Inwentarz*. In the case of the Sprogis inventory, more complete coverage, including holdings from additional Belorussian areas, is found in the few prewar, Russian-titled proof copies now available of that inventory, which has since been reissued in

administration, they have been divided between the Central State Historical Archives of the union republics of Lithuania, Latvia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine, according to their actual local provenance and the present location or configuration of the previous administrative-territorial entities they served.[20]

In a few instances, however, particularly in the early sixteenth century, some registers from several local courts became mingled with the metrica registers from the Grand Ducal chancery. This usually happened when the chancellor had previously, or perhaps even simultaneously, served in a top local administrative or judicial capacity. Such overlap of personnel and functions helps explain the presence in the Lithuanian Metrica complex of stray volumes of local court records.[21] In entry form, such volumes appear quite similar to other high chancery registers with judicial inscriptions. However, in actual contents and provenance, they should be carefully distinguished.

Thus, while stray volumes of non-chancery records became part of the Lithuanian Metrica complex from time to time, the obverse also happened. Chancellors or other high court officials sometimes removed Metrica registers, which then came to be stored with their own personal or family papers. Sometimes they had metrica books or parts thereof copied for their own personal or other official use, which later might also have survived in their personal archives. It is not surprising, then, to find today official Metrica registers or contemporary copies thereof in the private archives of leading magnate families who served as the ruling elite in the Grand Duchy.[22] Since such volumes were never stored with the rest of the completed Metrica registers, they were never formally considered part of the Lithuanian Metrica and never appeared in earlier inventories.

The fact that the Lithuanian Metrica corpus has been moved around

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a microfiche edition. See Grimsted, *Archives*, pp. 372–77, for more details (the Sprogis inventory is cited as K–74 and K–75).

20 Unfortunately, no up-to-date inventories listing and correlating these records with their current archival locations are available. The published guides to the historical archives in Minsk and Kiev provide only the briefest mention, and the list of holdings in Lithuanian state archives does not even list the relevant fonds. For a basic orientation, see the chart of local administrative-territorial divisions in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the present disposition of court records in appendix 4 of Grimsted, *Archives*, pp. 626–29. See also the chart in Mienicki, "Archiwa," 1: 408–413.

21 See below, fns. 183–186, for examples of local court records among the volumes of judicial proceedings in the Metrica complex.

22 See below, fns. 85, 106, 136, 178, and 179, for examples of such stray Metrica volumes.

and reorganized so many times, and that parts of it have been recopied and rebound on several occasions, grossly complicates the problems of its exact definition and contents at different times, and of the provenance of its component parts. It is thus crucial to recognize the radical changes in content, general organization, and specific arrangement to which the Lithuanian Metrica complex has been subjected over the centuries.

2. STAGES IN THE HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION OF THE LITHUANIAN METRICA COMPLEX

The present organization of the Lithuanian Metrica in Moscow, with auxiliary materials in Warsaw, should be recognized as its fourth major arrangement and the fourth different complex of materials of which the Lithuanian chancery registers have formed part during the five centuries since their inception. Although gradual developments and often significant changes took place within each stage, three major earlier stages can be identified as follows: the first, in Vilnius from the early sixteenth century to the 1740s; the second, in Warsaw from the 1740s to 1795; and the third, in St. Petersburg from 1796 until 1887.

An analysis of the inventories prepared during each of these stages can help us reconstruct the changes in the Metrica complex at different times and expose the varying provenance of the materials included.[23] We will then be in a better position to reconstruct the original organization of the actual Lithuanian chancery registers.

a. *The Lithuanian Metrica in Vilnius before the 1740s*

We must recognize at the outset that the Lithuanian Metrica — in the extended sense of the entire complex of Metrica volumes — is a product of both chancery record-keeping procedures and of archival practices in the Grand Duchy. These usages were not always the same, and indeed, could vary under different chancellors and in different periods. Indeed the vague and imprecise term Lithuanian Metrica developed over the centuries as a result of the relatively informal archival practices of the Grand Duchy. These facts are important for assessing the arrangement of Metrica volumes as well as the content of the Lithuanian Metrica complex.

[23] A detailed list of known inventories and summaries of the Lithuanian Metrica is presented in *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw,* appendix 3. A Polish version of this list, together with my analysis of the inventories, is in preparation for *Studia Źródłoznawcze.*

Until the early sixteenth century, Lithuanian chancery registers and related documents were retired for safekeeping from the capital in Vilnius to a special storage vault in the castle at Trakai (Polish, Troki), the ancient capital of Lithuania.[24] By 1511, the Metrica registers were usually kept in the treasury of the castle in Vilnius. In 1594, Chancellor Lew Sapieha ordered the early volumes to be recopied, and the process continued until 1607.[25] Some of the stray volumes from other institutions then housed with the official chancery registers were also copied, but a few were retained in the original. Only a few of the original chancery registers from before that period survive. The Metrica continued to be kept in Vilnius during most of the seventeenth century, primarily at the castle, but some records were also stored in another building near the city marketplace.

Some Metrica registers were reportedly taken from the Vilnius castle during the Russian seige of Vilnius in 1655. Apparently these were never recovered.[26] Some historians have written that parts of the Lithuanian Metrica were taken to Stockholm at the time of the Swedish invasion of the Commonwealth (which would also have been in 1655).[27] It is clear from the available evidence, however, that only the Crown Metrica was taken from Poland to Sweden: indeed, the Swedish forces did not even reach Vilnius. Except for those that may have been removed at the time of the Russian siege, the Lithuanian Metrica registers remained in Vilnius.[28]

24 There is no adequate study of the early history of the Lithuanian Metrica, and further research is needed on the subject. Many details presented in Ptaszycki's introduction (*Opisanie,* pp. 3–61) lack precision and tend to confuse the history of the Lithuanian Metrica with that of the Crown Metrica. See also Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska," especially pp. 92–97.

25 The completion of this process is reported in a resolution of the Sejm, *Volumina Legum,* 2: 1631.

26 Contemporary reports of these developments are found in resolutions of the Sejm (*Volumina Legum,* 4: 994 and 5: 155–56), but it has not been possible to find other corroborative evidence.

27 Ptaszycki, *Opisanie,* p. 11. Ptaszycki also makes the same claim in his unsigned booklet, *Cesarska Biblioteka Publiczna i Metryka Litewska w Petersburgu* (Cracow, 1884), originally published as an article in *Przegląd Literacki i Artystyczny,* 1884, no. 4/5, p. 23. The notion of the Swedish transfer is erroneously repeated by Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska," p. 92. I, too, have been misled by Ptaszycki's account (see Grimsted, "The Archival Legacy," p. 555).

28 Ptaszycki cites an inventory covering those volumes of the Metrica returned from Sweden. That inventory, prepared by the Crown Metricant, Stefan Kazimierz Hankiewicz, in 1673, was held in the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg (Pol.II.F.61) before World War I, was returned to Warsaw in the 1920s, and then was lost during World War II. From the detailed description of the inventory by Józef Korzeniowski, *Zapiski z rękopisów Cesarskiej Biblioteki Publicznej w*

In the Lithuanian chanceries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the actual registers were apparently not kept in strict or coherent order in the office storage closets or armoires where they were usually housed. It also appears that the books themselves had no series designations or numbers — indeed, unlike the Crown Metrica, there is no indication of a system of numeration for the Lithuanian Metrica registers before they were brought to Warsaw in the 1740s.[29]

A recently rediscovered list of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica compiled in 1623 provides our best evidence about the contents and organization of the Metrica volumes when they were in Vilnius in the early seventeenth century. The list is actually an official document transmitting the Lithuanian Metrica registers from the outgoing chancellor, Lew Sapieha, to the incoming chancellor, Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł.[30] The complete text of the inventory is being prepared for separate publication, since it is the earliest Metrica inventory and the only such list known from before the eighteenth century.[31] The inventory lists 190 volumes from the main chancery then considered part of the Lithuanian Metrica complex. Because descriptions are highly

Petersburgu i innych bibliotek Petersburgskich (Cracow, 1910; Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Óswiaty w Polsce, vol. 11), pp. 202–204, it is obviously identical in coverage (with slight variations in the order of sections) to the Hankiewicz inventory of the Crown Metrica now held in the Manuscript Division of the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław (MS 137), "Inwentarz Ksiąg w Metrice Koronney oboiey . . ." (a photocopy is held in AGAD in Warsaw). No books of the Lithuanian Metrica are included among those returned from Sweden.

[29] We cannot be sure about the early storage practices, however, because of the lack of inventories and because the books of the Lithuanian Metrica were all reorganized and rebound after they were brought to Warsaw in the 1740s. For the contrasting inventory of the Crown Metrica in the seventeenth century, see fn. 36.

[30] "Regestr xiąg Metryki W. X. L. ode mnie Leona Sapiehi wojewody wileńskiego, oswieconemu xiążeciu Olbrychtowi Stanisławowi Radziwiłowi na Ołyce y Niewsieżu canclerzowi W. X. L. w roku teraznieyszym tysiąc szeset dwudziestym trzecim msa marca jedynastego dnie oddanych." The original document is now part of a bound volume in the Dubrowski autograph collection, no. 124, fols. 98–116, held in the Manuscript Division of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library (GPB) in Leningrad. This inventory had been appropriately described by Korzeniowski, *Zapiski z rękopisów,* p. 366 (autograph no. 474); however, it has not been cited in previous scholarship regarding the Lithuanian Metrica. My analysis of this list has been undertaken in collaboration with Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, where a typescript copy is now available, presumably from the Leningrad original. Unfortunately, it has not yet been possible for us to verify this copy with the one in Leningrad.

[31] An additional, although presumably inferior, copy of this inventory has been located in Minsk. An analysis and portions of the text have been reportedly published there recently, but I have as yet been unable to obtain either a copy or exact bibliographical data.

abbreviated and inclusive dates are not furnished for every volume, it is difficult to correlate all of the listings with the volumes as they are known today, but a preliminary analysis has been completed.[32]

From this 1623 list it is clear that the books of the Lithuanian Metrica were not kept or arranged in series according to contents or subject matter, nor were they even arranged in chronological order. For the most part they were grouped in subsections under the name of the sovereign during whose reign they had been produced. Although in the list the books are numbered within these groups, there is no indication that these numbers were affixed to the volumes themselves. Although most of the books are not arranged in any apparent order, their descriptions do designate specific types of content, such as books of privileges, judicial books, books of legations, books of descriptions or inventories of estates and boundaries, etc. In many cases several subjects are mentioned for a single book, indicating their highly mixed contents. Also, volumes are often cited by the plural, *księgi* ("books"). Apparently no consistent distinction in the use of the singular versus the plural form of the Polish word for book is known at that time, but the use of the plural could suggest that many volumes were formed from initially separate parts.

In addition to groupings by individual sovereigns, there are also several sections listing books under specific regional headings. These sections suggest that there were a few recognizable, separate groups within the Metrica complex at that time. For example, one section lists most of the books of local judicial proceedings (*księgi wojewódzkie*),[33] which were housed with the Metrica complex although they are not actual chancery registers. Judicial books relating to Podlachia (Polish, Podlasie) are also listed in a separate group.[34] Another group lists books relating to Livonia, starting with the year 1561, when that

[32] With the aid of subsequent inventories and summaries, Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa and I have established preliminary correlation for all but a handful of volumes, and have determined that almost all of the volumes extant at that time can be identified in subsequent inventories. Our preliminary correlation of the volumes in this list with those in later inventories is included in *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw,* appendix 6.

[33] "Regestr xiąg Metryki W. X. L.," fols. 103v–104v. 24 volumes are listed in this section, mostly from the Vilnius castle court. See below, fns. 183–186.

[34] "Regestr xiąg Metryki W. X. L.," fol. 102. Seven volumes are listed for Podlachia for the years 1540–1558. See further discussion of this group below, fns. 187–193.

region became more directly linked to the Grand Duchy and the Polish Crown.[35]

Apart from these few separate groups, the 1623 list suggests that there were no strict series of subject-oriented chancery books in the Lithuanian Metrica as they were being stored and passed from one chancellor to the next, at least in the period up to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. By contrast, the earliest extant inventory for the Crown Metrica, prepared in 1674–1676, after it was returned from Sweden, by the Crown Metricant Stefan Kazimierz Hankiewicz, demonstrates a clear series distinction and numbering and lettering system within specified series, for Crown inscription books, legation books, books of judicial decrees, protocols, and inventories of royal estates.[36] Unfortunately, no other lists or inventories are available for the Lithuanian Metrica during the period it remained in Vilnius. There is no extant evidence of series divisions there, although there were apparently several attempts to reorganize the Metrica archive in the seventeenth century.

b. *The Lithuanian Metrica in Warsaw (1740s to 1795)*

In the mid-1740s, the entire complex of extant volumes of the Lithuanian Metrica that had hitherto been kept together in Vilnius was transferred to Warsaw. There, by order of the grand ducal chancellor, Jan Fryderyk Sapieha, and vice-chancellor, Michał Czartoryski, a commission was established "for the revision and reordering of the metrica archive."[37] Along with the previously bound volumes, many loose documents and fragmentary materials were brought together and bound into volumes without adequate sorting or arrangement.[38] All of

[35] "Regestr xiąg Metryki W. X. L.," fol. 105. Five volumes are listed in that section for Livonia (Inflanty), but there are several others scattered in other sections of the inventory.

[36] Hankiewicz, "Inwentarz Ksiąg w Metrice Koronney . . . ," Ossolineum Library, Wrocław, MS 137. Although the title page of the inventory mentions 1664, the year that the books were returned from Sweden, listings continue for books with entries through the year 1676. Most of the Crown Metrica books covered by the Hankiewicz inventory had been transported to Sweden in 1655, and may well have been reorganized and numbered in Stockholm before their return in 1664. More study is needed to determine exactly when and where the system of numbers and letters designating volumes of the Crown Metrica was introduced.

[37] J. Jakubowski, "Wiadomości o świeżo odzyskanym z Rosji sumarjuszu Metryki Litewskiej z lat 1747–51," *Ateneum Wileńskie* 8 (1933): 215–16.

[38] See Ptaszycki's annotations to this effect: for example, *Opisanie,* p. 133 (II.A.172), p. 134 (II.A.181), p. 139 (II.A.241 ff.). See also fn. 195.

the volumes were then completely reorganized and numbered according to a strictly rational plan.

An inventory following the new arrangement was prepared in 1747 by Jan Chrapowicki and Jan Szadurski.[39] They also prepared, between 1747 and 1751, a series of summaries in Latin-alphabet transcription of most of these volumes, based on the original summaries found in most books.[40]

According to this rational Warsaw system, the Metrica collection was divided strictly between the books of the main chancery (*Metrica maior*) and the minor chancery (*Metrica minor*). Books from the main chancery were assigned consecutive numbers, from 1 through 436. The first 297 books are arranged in relatively strict chronological order, ending with a volume for the years 1740–1745. Other groups of miscellaneous volumes then retained with the Metrica collection were listed subsequently, but not strictly in chronological order (Warsaw nos. 298–436). Many of the later numbers contain fragmentary parts of volumes and miscellaneous legal protocols and other chancery documents that had been brought to Warsaw with the Metrica collection and bound together, often indiscriminately.[41]

At this time the volumes clearly identified as originating in the office of the vice-chancellor (starting in 1579) were arranged separately in

[39] See the description of this inventory by Stanisław Ptaszycki, "Sumarjusz i inwentarz metryki Litewskiej," *Archeion* 8 (1930): 38–40. The only known copy of the inventory was destroyed in Warsaw during the uprising of 1944. However, the order of the inventory can easily be reconstructed, because the numbers assigned to individual volumes remained affixed to the volumes themselves, and because the same numbers were used in the summaries prepared at the same time.

[40] See Ptaszycki, "Sumarjusz," pp. 31–36, and Jakubowski, "Wiadomości," pp. 215–18. These initial Warsaw summaries stayed with the Lithuanian Metrica complex until a new set was prepared in St. Petersburg in the early nineteenth century. Later, they were housed separately in the Library of the General Staff in St. Petersburg. Returned to Warsaw in 1930, they are now held in AGAD, SumML 1–15. At least two other sets of summaries of the Lithuanian Metrica were prepared in Warsaw in the eighteenth century, some of the details of which are mentioned by Ptaszycki and Jakubowski in the articles cited, and by Sułkowska-Kurasiowa in "Metryka Litewska." Those remaining in AGAD are held as part of the Radziwiłł Archive (AR II.69/13 and II.69/8) and the Potocki Public Archive (APP 15–30; no. 16 is lacking). A table correlating all extant Warsaw summaries with current TsGADA or AGAD numbers for the Metrica volumes covered will be found in *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw,* appendix 4. Actually the summaries, completed several years later, include a few more volumes than the earlier inventory.

[41] An adequate inventory has never been prepared, so to this day it is impossible to identify their contents with any exactness. The summaries extend through volume number 358, but do not cover many of the additional miscellaneous volumes.

strict chronological order and assigned letters rather than numbers, so as to distinguish them clearly from the chancellor's books.[42] Once in Warsaw, the official Lithuanian Metrica complex was kept in a specially designated room in the Royal Castle. Thereafter, other groups of completed Metrica registers were periodically transferred to this official depository from the grand ducal chanceries, and assigned consecutively higher numbers or letters.

Although the initial Warsaw numbers and letters have stayed with the individual volumes for the most part, a second series of numbers were assigned in Warsaw later in the eighteenth century — which explains why to this day many volumes bear two Warsaw numbers. The second numeration apparently was assigned in the years 1784 to 1787, when almost all of the volumes of the Lithuanian Metrica were rebound under the direction of the Polish court historian Adam Naruszewicz (1733–1796).[43] Most of the volumes retain these elaborate royal bindings today, along with the distinctive bookplate of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, the last Polish king and grand duke of Lithuania. At approximately the same time, under the direction of Naruszewicz Latin-alphabet transcriptions were prepared of the 62 earliest volumes of the Lithuanian Metrica, resulting in a group of 29 volumes which are preserved today in AGAD in Warsaw.[44]

[42] These letters were also assigned to the volumes consecutively in four alphabetical series starting with single letters "A"–"Z," continuing through double and triple series, etc., and finally through quadruple letters to "UUUU." Within this system there were apparently a few errors in distinction between major and minor chancery books, since in some cases bound volumes contained entries from both chanceries or miscellaneous fragments that did not properly belong in either category. Also, there were some earlier books apparently from the vice-chancellor that were listed with the main chancery books. See below for further discussion of the distinction between chancery and vice-chancery books.

[43] The new numbers were affixed to the spine after rebinding, but indication of the earlier Warsaw numbers was retained. In many instances, both Warsaw numbers are indicated in Ptaszycki's *Opisanie,* although some mistakes appear there. The second system of Warsaw numeration affects only those volumes from the main chancery with the numbers 242 and above. The new series of unique numbers was apparently needed, since some of the volumes were rebound in more than one volume: in some cases more than one earlier volume had been assigned a single number, and a few of the miscellaneous volumes after number 272 were rearranged. The letters initially assigned to the vice-chancery books were not changed, but additional consecutive letters were assigned for eighteenth-century books. Hence, by 1787 there were five alphabetical series through "LLLLL."

[44] The transcriptions cover volumes with the Warsaw numbers 1–66 (omitting nos. 54, 60, and 64) and are now grouped together in AGAD under the numbers ML 191A — ML 219. Code numbers for copies of individual volumes available in AGAD are listed in the margin of the reedited Ptaszycki inventory, *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw,* and a full table correlating them

The organization imposed on the Lithuanian Metrica complex in Warsaw during the eighteenth century was, in many ways and for many parts of the collection, a highly artificial system of organization. For the most part, it fails to take into account the natural order of the volumes both as they were originally created and as they were originally stored in the chanceries of the Grand Duchy. It disregards natural series groupings, and it makes no attempt to distinguish between actual chancery registers and other miscellaneous volumes brought to Warsaw as part of the Metrica complex. Nevertheless, to understand the evolution of the Metrica complex and to identify properly individual volumes in a new inventory, the exact correlations of the Warsaw numbers for each and every volume must be established. A Polish inventory of the Lithuanian Metrica prepared in Warsaw in 1787, a copy of which is now held in Leningrad, could undoubtedly provide verification of the final system of Warsaw arrangement and numeration for the Lithuanian Metrica, before it was transported to St. Petersburg in 1796.[45]

c. *The Lithuanian Metrica in St. Petersburg (1796 to 1887)*

Following the final partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795, most of its highest-level archives were transported to the Russian capital.[46] The materials brought to St. Petersburg included

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with the Warsaw numbers and summaries is included there as appendixes 4 and 5. See also the notes about these copies and the charts correlating their entries with the Warsaw numbers in Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska," pp. 93, 102–118.

[45] "Inwentarz ksiąg Metryk W. X. Litewskich na nowo opprawionych, ułożonych y pomnożonych, tak większej iako y mniejszej pieczęci, przez J. M. P. Grzegorza Kaczanowskiego Metrykanta W. X. L. y Sekretarza J. K. M. w r. 1787 sporządzony" (in-folio, 50 pages) (Odział I, no. 7). The inventory is so identified in a 1934 typewritten inventory of the Onacewicz collection, "Katalog rękopisów, dokumentów i map, które znajdowały się w bibliotece Żegoty Onacewicza w Petersburgu," Jagellonian Library, Cracow, MS 6767. A supplemental three-page list of volumes added up to 1794 is also held in the same collection. See the published mention by Feliks Pohorecki, "Teki i zbiory Żegoty Onacewicza (Proba rekonstrukcji)," in *Pamiętnik VI Powszechnego zjazdu historyków polskich w Wilnie, 17–20 września 1935 r.*, 2 vols. (Lviv, 1935–36), 1: 421. The Onacewicz collection is now held in the Manuscript Division of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkinskii dom) in Leningrad, but it has not yet been possible to examine or to obtain a copy of this manuscript.

[46] Ptaszycki covers some of the details of the transfer to St. Petersburg in his own introduction (*Opisanie*, pp. 12–15). See also the report of N. V. Repnin to Empress Catherine II (14/27 December 1794) describing the dispatch of materials from Vilnius in the custody of the Lithuanian Metricant, Kaczanowski, in *Sbornik Imperatorskogo Russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva* (hereafter *SIRIO*), 16 (1875): 73. For further details about the Metrica complex in St. Petersburg, see

most of the known registers of both the Lithuanian Metrica and the Crown Metrica, a large number of original documents from the Polish Crown Treasury Archive in Cracow, the remains of other groups of high-level state records, and miscellaneous royal papers (many of which were simply stuffed in trunks without sorting). These materials were subsequently divided, rearranged, and moved about several times, all of which makes it exceedingly difficult to trace their fate.

The Lithuanian Metrica complex that had been held together in Warsaw was completely reorganized as part of a much larger collection of Polish-Lithuanian archival materials that also included most of the Crown Metrica. In the process of rearrangement, the entire collection was subdivided between those volumes principally relating to foreign affairs and those concerning domestic matters. Nine or ten books from the Warsaw Lithuanian Metrica complex were separated out and turned over to the Collegium (after 1802, Ministry) of Foreign Affairs in 1798, and then transferred to the Moscow Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Moskovskii glavnyi arkhiv Ministerstva inostrannykh del—MGAMID*) in 1828.

The rest of the Warsaw Lithuanian Metrica complex, together with the Crown Metrica, came under the jurisdiction of the Governing Senate (*Pravitel'stvuiushchii senat*). It was inventoried in its radical new organization in 1798 by Igor Kirshbaum. In terms of the overall organization of the Metrica complex, the Kirshbaum inventory maintains a sharp distinction between the Lithuanian Metrica, the Crown Metrica, and other records of Warsaw origin, with separate sections for each.[47] Following minor revisions in 1817, the inventory was published in 1843, along with a detailed description of seven books from the Lithuanian Metrica complex that were then held by the Foreign Ministry.[48]

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the introductory remarks by N. G. Berezhkov in *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag MAMIu,* 21: xi–xix.

[47] The inventory was divided into section A for the Crown Metrica and section B for the Lithuanian Metrica; a separate section C covered other recent materials of Warsaw origin, and section D covered some additional judicial materials, including published volumes of laws and statutes, etc. The original manuscript inventory was transferred to Poland in 1923, and is now held in AGAD (TzwML VIII.37): "Rospisanie del Metriki pol'skoi i litovskoi do vnutrenniago pravleniia nadlezhalishchikh, naznachennykh po vse Vysochaishchemy Ego Imperatorskago Velichestva ot 1-go maiia 1798-go goda ukazu k dostavleniiu v Pravitel'stvuiushchii Senat" (83 fols.).

[48] *Kniga posol'skaia Metriki Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo, soderzhashchaia v sebe diplomaticheskie snosheniia Litvy v gosudarstvovanie korolia Sigismunda-Avgusta (s 1545 po 1572 god),* ed. I. N. Daniłowicz (Danilovich) and M. A.

Kirshbaum's inventory is very important for the study of the Metrica complex, because it reflects the reorganization and arrangement that had taken place in St. Petersburg. The system established there affects the arrangement in all subsequent inventories. The listings of individual items help us to trace the future disposition of specific volumes which do not appear in later St. Petersburg inventories.

For the Lithuanian Metrica itself, the 1798 inventory represents the basic rearrangement of the extant volumes into five distinct series, mirroring the pattern in which the Polish Crown chancery books had traditionally been organized — Books of Inscriptions (*Knigi zapisei/Libri inscriptionum,* section B–1), Judicial Affairs and Protocols (*Sudnye dela i protokoly,* section B–2), Books of Royal Sealings (*Sigillata,* section B-3), Books of Revisions, or Land Survey Books (*Knigi perepisei i mezhevaniia,* section B–4), and Books of Public Affairs (*Knigi publichnykh del i obshchestvennykh,* section B–5). Within each series extant volumes were organized in basic chronological order, but many of the volumes are placed in the wrong series, or simply grouped haphazardly without regard for their provenance. The distinction between books from the main chancery and those from the vice-chancery, as they had been divided in Warsaw, was dropped, but earlier Warsaw numbers or letters are indicated for all volumes. The inventory does helpfully group the volumes under the appropriate reigning monarch, with indications of many subgroups containing similar types of materials, although such groups were dropped later in the nineteenth century. Hence the St. Petersburg order of the Lithuanian Metrica represents a complete reorganization, resulting in a new, artificial pattern of arrangement directly contrary to its original organization in Vilnius and Warsaw.

In 1799, a large part of the Metrica complex under the jurisdiction of the Governing Senate was transferred to Prussia. Since Prussia then occupied most of the former Crown lands, including Warsaw, the move principally involved the Crown Metrica. Accordingly, a large portion of the Crown Metrica was given over to Prussia, and eventually, after the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, that portion was returned to Warsaw and deposited in the newly organized General Provincial

Obolenskii, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1843), 1: 327–418, as revised by Bazyli Anastasiewicz (in 1817). The legation books are described on pp. 437–39, but not all the books from the Lithuanian Metrica then in MGAMID were included (see fn. 91 and fn. 162). The related inventory for the Crown Metrica was also printed. The

Archive (*Archiwum Ogólne Krajowe;* after 1815, *Główne Archiwum Królestwa Polskiego*). The move also involved some of the more recent Warsaw records.[49]

From the Lithuanian Metrica complex included in the 1798 inventory, six volumes were transferred to Warsaw,[50] along with four volumes from the Grand Duchy that had earlier been listed with the Crown Metrica.[51] Also transferred were the 29 volumes of the Latin-alphabet transcriptions of the earliest 62 volumes of the Lithuanian Metrica that had been copied in the eighteenth century.[52] The materials returned to Warsaw were all listed in the inventory prepared by Felix Bentkowski in 1835.[53]

The Polish-Lithuanian materials that remained in St. Petersburg under the administration of the Governing Senate — that is, most of the Lithuanian Metrica, remaining parts of the Crown Metrica, and some other related groups of records and individual documents — were kept together under the collective title, the Metrica of the Annexed Provinces (*Metrika prisoedinnenykh provintsii*).[54] In 1803,

rest of the published volumes provides the text of two of the Lithuanian legation books. See below, fn. 166.

[49] A complete inventory of the materials being transferred was prepared at the time, the original manuscript of which is now in AGAD (TzwML VIII.38) — "Opisi dielam metricheskim i drugim, otdannym v 1799 g. iz Pravitel'stvu Senatu Prusskom Pravitel'stvu i vypisiam i vydelam iz etikh knig." There are actually two separate inventories with slightly different coverage, the largest entitled — "Opis' vypisiam dlia Senatskago arkhiva spisannym iz knig i del prezhde byvshei Pol'skoi Koronnoi i Litovskoi Metriki otnosiashchimsia k oblastiam dostavshimsia Koroliu Pruskomu iz Senatskago arkhiva Korolievsko-Pruskomu Komisaru Iakshteinu vydannykh" (106 pages). See Tadeusz Mencel, "Archiwum Ogólne Krajowe w Warszawie 1808–1813," in *Księga pamiątkowa 150-lecia Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie* (Warsaw, 1958), pp. 3–6, 10–12.

[50] These include five volumes of judicial decrees relating to Podlachia (B–2, nos. 13–16 and 32 — see fn. 189), one volume inventorying boundaries between the Grand Duchy and the Polish Crown (B–4.2 — see fn. 80), and one volume listing privileges issued during the years 1775–1792 (B–5.28 — see fn. 79). One additional volume of Podlachia decrees was transferred in 1827 (see fn. 193).

[51] Four contingent volumes of judicial decrees relating to Podlachia had traditionally been housed with the Crown Metrica (A–2, nos. 10, 13, 17, and 21) (see fn. 192).

[52] (See fn. 44). These were listed in the 1798 inventory in section B–1, nos. 191–219.

[53] See Felix Bentkowski, *Spis akt dawnych w Głównym Archiwum Królestwa Polskiego w Warszawie znajdujących się 1835* (Warsaw, 1840). See also the earlier coverage in the report by Adam Powstański, "Wiadomość o Archiwum Krajowem Królestwa Polskiego . . . ," *Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego z Uniwersytetem Krakowskiem połączonego* 9 (1824): 285–423. The Lithuanian Metrica is specifically mentioned on pp. 362–64.

[54] The official decree establishing the Metrica office was dated 9 June 1803 (*Polnoe sobranie zakonov*, ser. 1, vol. 27, no. 20,790). See also the follow-up decree of 1805 (*PSZ*, ser. 1, vol. 28, no. 21,881). Ptaszycki mentions some of these details in his introduction, *Opisanie,* pp. 15–19.

a new set of summaries was prepared for the Lithuanian Metrica registers to replace the earlier Warsaw summaries.[55] In 1808 some of the original documents from the Cracow Crown Treasury Archive that had been held with the Metrica complex were transferred to the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg.[56]

The combined Metrica corpus, along with other records from the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, came under scrutiny in nineteenth-century St. Petersburg. Families jockeying for social and political position within the rigid social structure of Imperial Russia were quick to turn to earlier documents as proof — even if sometimes falsified — of their claims to noble status and landholding rights. Government supervision became necessary to safeguard the documentation and prevent falsification attempts.[57] In any case, people looking to the documents with such reasons tended to overlook the fact that these records had been recopied, reorganized, and rebound several

55 See fn. 40. Jakubowski mentions that the recopying was done by the official metricant in charge of the collection in St. Petersburg, Stefan Koziełło ("Wiadomości o sumarjuszu," p. 218). Berezhkov describes the summaries under the title *General'naia opis'*, but suggests they were modeled after the Warsaw summaries prepared in the 1780s that were bound into the front of most of the volumes (introduction to *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag MAMIu,* 21: xv). Ptaszycki, in his 1887 inventory introduction (p. 60), speaks of 13 volumes of a *pokazovaia opis',* prepared by Koziełło, as still being housed with the Metrica, along with two other volumes covering other parts of the Metrica (which he does not attribute to Koziełło). Presumably this set of summaries remained in Moscow, but it is not now listed as part of the fond of the Lithuanian Metrica (f. 389) in TsGADA. It would be important to compare them to the earlier summaries in AGAD, particularly in the event of any discrepancies in books covered and in the mention of earlier Warsaw numbers.

56 An inventory of the documents intended for transfer was prepared by P. Dubrowski. The original manuscript is now in AGAD (TzwML VIII.28) —"Opis' delam v kartonakh khraniashchimsia, sostavlennaia 1808-go goda, po starym varshavskim registram, s otmietkami, kakie piesy po slichenii s temizhe registrami neokazalis', kakaia ostaleny v Metriki i kakaia vydany v Imperatorskuiu Biblioteku po rospisku Kollezhskago Sov. Dubrovskago" (300 folios). Many of the documents listed in this inventory in fact remained with the Senate and were not transferred to the public library; notations to that effect are given in the manuscript copy. Those remaining were later listed as part of the Lithuanian Metrica by Ptaszycki, *Opisanie,* section X. Parts of the inventory were published in an appendix to *Kniga posol'skaia Metriki VKL,* 1: 461–67 (A–9 under the Crown Metrica). The listings are difficult to correlate in some cases (for example, the compiler was apparently unable to date papal bulls correctly), but almost all the documents covered have since been returned to Warsaw and are held in AGAD in the collection of parchments there.

57 Examples of falsification of documentation in connection with the socio-political struggles in the period are cited by N. N. Ulashchik, *Predposylki krest'ianskoi reformy 1861 g. v Litve i Zapadnoi Belorussii* (Moscow: Izd-vo "Nauka," 1965), pp. 91–99. Local court records from these areas were involved as well as the Metrica corpus, so that the period saw a series of imperial commissions involved in trying to locate and consolidate many local records.

times in the course of centuries, in the process of which they had been significantly transformed. Where the records had come from or how they were organized were much less important than their accessibility and the separate documents or personal data they contained.

In 1835 a commission was formed to reanalyze and more definitively rearrange the Metrica collection that remained under the administration of the Governing Senate.[58] The organization of the Metrica corpus that the commission established was based on the earlier section divisions and series assigned in 1798. However, the three major groups of materials that had been distinct in the 1798 inventory were integrated into a single collection. Most significantly, the earlier third group that had consisted of loose papers and miscellaneous state records, mostly from the reign of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (1764–1795), were bound (albeit without careful sorting and labelling). They were assigned numbers within the Metrica complex, although they belonged neither to the Lithuanian nor to the Crown Metrica. In fact, there were only a few Lithuanian-related records in these materials.[59] As concerns the Lithuanian Metrica itself, there were only a few changes in internal arrangement and numbering of individual items within the previously assigned sections.[60]

A new inventory of the entire Metrica collection was prepared, reflecting the reorganization and numbering of some sections.[61] Never-

[58] Ptaszycki summarized the provisions: *Opisanie,* pp. 19–20. See also the description of the work of the commission by Berezhkov, *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag MAMIu,* 21: xii–xiii and xvi.

[59] These materials are now all in Warsaw. They constitute sections VII and IX of the Ptaszycki inventory. Their jumbled condition has made it difficult to establish a more detailed inventory.

[60] The changes principally reflected the elimination of materials transferred to Prussia and subsequently held in Warsaw. Thus the first 190 numbers for Inscription Books were retained, in contrast to the earlier 223. The same numbers 1–308 were retained for the judicial books, with the omission of numbers 13–16 and 32, which were transferred. In the section for Books of Revisions, 24 instead of 25 numbers were listed, but many of these were rearranged in a different order. The so-called Books of Public Affairs still numbered 1–37 in the same order, but item 28 had been changed.

[61] During my last visit in 1979, archivists in TsGADA were unable to locate the inventory prepared by the 1835 commission. One hopes further efforts have been made to find it. N. G. Berezhkov identified and described it in his introduction to *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag MAMIu,* 21: xiii and xvi, and Ptaszycki mentioned it (*Opisanie,* p. 21 and passim) as the basis for his later inventory. I have hence been able to study the 1835 arrangement only on the basis of an 1839 inventory, a copy of which is available in AGAD, but it is doubtful that it reflects the final 1836 arrangement. There were two identical copies of the 1839 inventory (see Ptaszycki, "Sumarjusz," p. 40), both of which ended up in Warsaw in the 1930s, but one was

theless, the title of that inventory — at least on the copies made in 1839 in Warsaw — still designated both the Lithuanian Metrica and the Crown Metrica as distinct components, and separate sections with Roman numerals were assigned for each. Although a few minor changes were made subsequently, the work of the 1835 commission established the definitive St. Petersburg organization for the entire Metrica complex. It became the basis for the inventory published in St. Petersburg in 1887, which was compiled by the Polish historian Stanisław Ptaszycki (1853–1933).[62]

The title of Ptaszycki's inventory, *Opisanie knig i aktov Litovskoi metriki* (Description of Books and Acts of the Lithuanian Metrica), is very misleading because it uses the term "Lithuanian Metrica" to encompass not only the Lithuanian Metrica registers but also all of the much larger collection of archival materials from the Polish Crown lands as well as the Grand Duchy then held in St. Petersburg under the jurisdiction of the Governing Senate. In fact, less than half the items covered by the Ptaszycki inventory are actually registers from the Lithuanian chancery, or had earlier been considered part of the Lithuanian Metrica.

In its organization and section divisions, the Ptaszycki inventory for the most part clearly designates which materials were of Crown origin and which were from the Grand Duchy. However, the distinction is further obscured in comparison with the 1839 inventory, because "Lithuanian" and "Crown" series are reduced to subsections of the general subject matter sections.[63] The first four sections, in Roman

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destroyed in World War II. The remaining extant copy, held in AGAD as part of the Crown Metrica (MK 413), bears both Polish and Russian titles, with the Polish cited first — "Spis akt dawnej Metryki Koronnej i Litewskiej w Archiwum 3-go Departamentu Rządzącego Senatu w Petersburgu złożonych . . . Głownemu Archiwum Krolestwa do użytku przesłany." There are enough differences in organization and internal arrangement of items within sections to ascertain that this was not the inventory from which Ptaszycki prepared his later one. In a 1930 article, he claimed not to have seen this inventory previously, yet he also claimed that his inventory is based precisely on the 1836 arrangement.

[62] Regarding Ptaszycki, see the obituary and series of articles in *Archeion* 12 (1934), including the short biography by Wincenty Łopaciński, "Rys życia Stanisława Ptaszyckiego" (pp. 28–44), the articles by Stanisław Kętrzyński, "Rola Stanisława Ptaszyckiego w Petersburgu" (pp. 45–52), and Jan Jakubowski, "Stanisław Ptaszycki jako badacz Metryki Litewskiej" (pp. 53–57), and the bibliography of Ptaszycki's publications compiled by Halina Bachulska (pp. 58–76).

[63] As mentioned above (see fn. 61) it is not possible to determine if the 1839 inventory now in Warsaw accurately reflects the 1835–1836 St. Petersburg arrangement of the Metrica complex. There are major discrepancies both in the overall organization of sections and the internal arrangement of items. To resolve this

numerals, follow the 1798 St. Petersburg pattern, with separate headings for the Books of Inscriptions (I — *Knigi zapisei*), Books of Legal Proceedings (II — *Knigi sudnykh del*), Books of Public Affairs (III — *Knigi publichnykh del*), and Books of Revisions, or Land Survey Books (IV — *Knigi perepisei*). Each of these sections has separate subsections for Lithuanian records (A — *Litovskaia*) and those from the Polish Crown lands (B — *Koronnaia*). The fifth section (V — *Knigi vypisei*) included seven volumes of extracts from the Crown Metrica. The sixth (VI — *Sigillata*) listed two registers of royal sealings from the Lithuanian minor chancery. The seventh and ninth sections listed the miscellaneous office papers and recent records, mostly from the late eighteenth century, which had been bound at the time of the 1835 commission (VII — *Knigi Nepremennogo soveta i dela noveishogo proizvodstva,* and IX — *Novye knigi*). However, some miscellaneous registers from earlier periods are also scattered in the ninth section, and several volumes in these sections contain records from the Grand Duchy. The eighth section lists inventories of different archival documentation relating to the Crown lands (VIII — *Inventari* [*Knigi registrov*]). The tenth section lists 387 original parchment documents (X — *Drevnie akty*) from the Cracow Treasury Archive that remained with the Metrica complex under the Governing Senate. The eleventh section lists 50 Polish genealogical registers (XI — *Rodoslovnaia*), and the twelfth lists 11 estate maps (XII — *Mezhevye karty*).

The fact that materials of such varied types and provenance were all listed together under the collective title "Lithuanian Metrica" has left considerable confusion about the use and definition of the term. Furthermore, since the Ptaszycki inventory has perpetrated the artificial St. Petersburg organization and arrangement of the hybrid collection, it has increased the difficulty of sorting out its component parts. Ptaszycki's own introduction to his inventory exposes some of the problems involved and recognizes the need for a more exact inventory of the materials covered. Nevertheless, in his historical survey Ptaszycki himself failed to distinguish adequately between the Crown Metrica and the Lithuanian Metrica, and the imprecision with which he presents many of his facts has added to the confusion about

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matter, it is crucial to locate the 1836 inventory and compare it with the 1839 one. Archival records relating to the Metrica collection under the Governing Senate in St. Petersburg may show whether other changes were introduced and provide information about Ptaszycki's process of compilation. It is probable that Ptaszycki simply recorded groups of records as he found them.

the earlier evolution of the collection. The fact that the actual Lithuanian chancery registers became enmeshed in this much larger collection has made it more difficult to identify them and establish their natural arrangement. These problems became intensified and more complicated, because the collection of materials covered by the Ptaszycki inventory did not long remain together. The third stage in the organization and arrangement of the Lithuanian Metrica was gradually to be superseded by a fourth.

d. *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw in Its Current Organization*

During the half century following 1887, the archival collection described in Ptaszycki's inventory and misleadingly labelled the "Lithuanian Metrica" there became divided in two and virtually ceased to exist as a hybrid collection. Since the Second World War its contents have been reorganzied and rearranged in two major national historical archives, one in Moscow — the Central State Archive of Early Acts (TsGADA — *Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov*), and the other in Warsaw — the Main Archive of Early Acts (AGAD — *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych*).

Most striking is that despite the division of the collection it covers, the Ptaszycki inventory itself has remained in use in both archives and today still serves as the basic finding aid for many of the materials involved. Because of the continuing importance of this inventory, an expanded reedition is now being issued, with marginal indications of the current code numbers of the individual items in Moscow (TsGADA) and Warsaw (AGAD) and further explanatory data.[64] The reorganization took place gradually, in several stages.

Later in 1887, the year in which Ptaszycki's inventory appeared, the entire Metrica collection hitherto held by the Governing Senate in St. Petersburg was moved to Moscow and deposited in the Moscow Archive of the Ministry of Justice (MAMIu — *Moskovskii arkhiv Ministerstva iustitsii*) as an integral collection entitled "Lithuanian Metrica."[65] However, the collection did not long remain there intact.

The next year, 351 of the 389 original parchment documents listed in

[64] See *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw* (more details are given in fn. 3).

[65] See the listing of the Lithuanian Metrica in the 1890 guide to MAMIu, *Pamiatnaia knizhka Moskovsogo arkhiva Ministerstva iustitsii* (Moscow, 1890), pp. 140–42.

Ptaszycki's tenth section were transferred to the Moscow Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MGAMID).[66] Subsequently, in 1923, all of the 389 parchments were returned to Poland. In the years 1895–1898, 44 volumes identified as part of the Crown Metrica in the Ptaszycki inventory were transferred to Warsaw,[67] where they were deposited with other volumes of the Crown Metrica that had been returned earlier in the nineteenth century.[68]

With the emergence of the independent Polish Republic after the First World War, the Treaty of Riga (1921) provided for the revindication of many more of the Polish archival and library materials that had been taken to Russia after the partitions of Poland. Most of the registers from the Ptaszycki inventory that could be identified as technically part of the Crown Metrica were returned to Warsaw.[69]

Most of the materials listed in the Ptaszycki inventory that were returned to Warsaw were not chancery registers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, nor had they ever been inventoried as part of the Lithuanian Metrica before 1835. Once back in Warsaw, many of them were reintegrated into their appropriate archival groups on the basis of provenance and/or their listings in earlier extant inventories. Precise data regarding all the materials revindicated and their subsequent arrangement in AGAD are provided in an extremely helpful article by Jadwiga Jankowska published in 1960.[70]

Most of the register books from the Polish Crown chancery in Ptaszycki's first three sections are now interfiled in AGAD in appropriate series of the Crown Metrica, which, to be sure, do not always correspond to the series in which Ptaszycki had listed them. These have all since been described in a scholarly inventory of the

[66] See *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag MAMIu,* 21: xiv.

[67] *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag MAMIu,* 21: xiv. Data about these transfers were verified by archivists in TsGADA in their own records and, with minor exceptions, coincide with data in AGAD.

[68] See above, fns. 49–53. The Crown Metrica materials already in Warsaw as well as those returned in the 1890s were included in the updated inventory of the Warsaw Main Archive, *Opisanie del khraniashchikhsia v Varshavskom glavnom arkhive drevnikh aktov / Manuscriptorum quae in Chartophylacio Maximo Varsoviensi asservantur tabulae analyticae,* vol. 1, comp. Teodor Wierzbowski (Warsaw, 1912; Iuridicheskie pamiatniki/Monumenta iuris, vol. 1).

[69] Regarding the revindication agreements, see the article by Józef Siemieński, "Rewindykacja archiwów koronnych. Przygotowanie naukowe i wyniki," *Archeion* 1 (1927): 31–60, and the later article by Piotr Bańkowski, "Rękopisy rewindykowane na podstawie Traktatu Ryskiego jako warsztat pracy naukowej przed wojną," *Przegląd Biblioteczny* 16, no. 1/2 (1948): 101–118.

[70] Jadwiga Jankowska, "O Tak zwanej Metryce Litewskiej," *Archeion* 32 (1960): 31–56.

Crown Metrica, along with the register books returned to Warsaw earlier.[71]

The inventories and revisions of royal estates listed in Ptaszycki's section IV.B still retain Ptaszycki's numbers in AGAD, and were not included in the published 1975 inventory of the Crown Metrica. However, many of them should be integrated and reinventoried with the contingent volumes from the basic Crown Metrica series as listed in earlier inventories (*Księgi lustracji i rewizji dóbr królewskich*). Other miscellaneous volumes in this section require separate descriptions, including one volume with original documentation from the Lithuanian chancery.[72]

The original parchment charters and other documents that had been listed in Ptaszycki's section X are in AGAD as part of the special Collection of Parchment Documents (*Zbiór Dokumentów Pergaminowych*). These had never been considered part of the Lithuanian Metrica before their transport to St. Petersburg.[73] The maps in Ptaszycki's section XII have been added to the cartographic collection in AGAD, but the genealogical registers in section XI remain within the Ptaszycki framework. The inventory numbers assigned by Ptaszycki are also still used for the jumbled, late eighteenth-century materials covered in his sections VII and IX, which had been bound in St. Pe-

[71] See *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej.* The books returned are now included in three different Crown Metrica series: Books of Inscriptions (*Księgi Wpisów*), Books of the Chancellor or Books of Public Affairs (*Księgi Spraw Publicznych — Kanclerskie*), and Books of the Courts of the Assessors, the Senators, and the Diet (*Księgi Sądow: Asesorskiego, Relacyjnego i Sejmowego*).

[72] Many of the books in Ptaszycki's section had been listed as part of the Crown Metrica in the earliest extant inventory, dating from the period 1673–1676 (Hankiewicz, "Inwentarz Ksiąg w Metrice Koronney," fols. 23–24). With the intermediary of the 1798 St. Petersburg inventory (see the 1843 published version in *Kniga posol'stva VKL,* 1: 367–70), and the 1839 manuscript inventory in AGAD ("Spis akt dawnej Metryki Koronnej i Litewskiej . . . ," AGAD, MK 413), it is now possible to establish the prepartition code numbers of many. Contiguous volumes are listed in the 1912 Warsaw inventory (see Wierzbowski, *Opisanie del,* pp. 86–91). However, some miscellaneous volumes added to the Ptaszycki section IV.B in St. Petersburg are obviously not estate inventories, and do not belong to the Crown Metrica. There are even a few bound volumes of original documents and correspondence among the group, which require appropriate description. These include a volume with some original sixteenth-century documentation from the Lithuanian chancery (AGAD, TzwML IV.B.24), the other part of which is in Moscow (TsGADA, fond 386, no. 583); the materials involved would appear to be personal papers of the Lithuanian chancellor, rather than a technical Metrica register.

[73] They were initially restored to their proper position and reinventoried as part of the former Cracow Crown Treasury Archive (*Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego*), but later also classified in the parchment collection.

tersburg in the mid-1830s. Interspersed with these materials are some miscellaneous volumes dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and a few from the eighteenth century of various provenance.[74] The miscellaneous collection of inventories, mostly covering Polish archival materials, that had been listed by Ptaszycki as section VIII also retain their Ptaszycki numbers.[75]

The Ptaszycki inventory, with the original St. Petersburg inventory numbers, is still used in AGAD for all of the materials that have not been integrated into their original archival record groups. The title given the miscellaneous collection in AGAD, the "So-Called Lithuanian Metrica" (*Tak zwana Metryka Litewska*), appropriately suggests the remaining ambiguities and confusions.

Along with the predominantly Polish materials returned to Warsaw at various points, there remain a few scattered volumes which either originated in the Lithuanian chancery, had earlier been inventoried as part of the Lithuanian Metrica, or which contain copies or summaries of parts of actual Lithuanian chancery registers. A detailed list of these materials is published elsewhere.[76] Of particular importance is the group of 29 volumes of eighteenth-century, Latin-alphabet copies of the earliest 62 volumes of the Lithuanian Metrica, as then constituted.[77]

Ten volumes of appellate judicial decrees for the Podlachia area in the years 1538–1571 from the Lithuanian chancery were held in Warsaw before the Second World War, five housed with the Lithuanian Metrica and five with the Crown Metrica. Only one remains in the original in AGAD today, but there are eighteenth-century copies of

[74] There is no adequate inventory of these materials in AGAD, apart from their brief listing in the Ptaszycki inventory. Further study is needed to determine their provenance and placement in other existing record groups.

[75] Added to this section in AGAD are three important additional inventories prepared in St. Petersburg that had not been listed by Ptaszycki, but that had been retained with the Metrica collection in Moscow. These were mentioned above — AGAD, TzwML VIII.28 (see fn. 56); TzwML VIII.37 (see fn. 47) and VIII.38 (see fn. 49). Information is needed regarding the intervening St. Petersburg numbers VIII.29—VIII.36 (not listed by Ptaszycki), presumably assigned to inventories remaining in Moscow.

[76] See *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw,* appendixes 2 and 4. A Polish version of this list, prepared in collaboration with Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, is planned for publication as an appendix to my forthcoming article in *Kwartalnik Historyczny.*

[77] See fn. 44.

four others and summaries of two more, while another two original volumes remain in Moscow.[78]

Two other volumes legitimately part of the Lithuanian Metrica were returned to Warsaw in the early nineteenth century. Still extant in AGAD is a miscellaneous volume of Lithuanian vice-chancery inscriptions from the years 1775–1792.[79] An inventory of boundaries between the Grand Duchy and the Crown prepared in 1546 was destroyed in 1944, but an eighteenth-century copy remains in AGAD.[80]

Three other volumes from the sixteenth century that had at various times been considered part of the Lithuanian Metrica were revindicated to Warsaw in 1923, but their provenance and history requires further study. The volume of legal decrees — entirely in Latin —from the years 1526–1535 pertains predominantly to areas then part of the Crown, and should presumably be considered part of the Crown Metrica. Since its final entries were made in Vilnius, it was apparently left there and hence stored with the Lithuanian Metrica.[81] The volume of Latin inscriptions from the years 1541–1548, pertaining to Podolia and Ruthenia, including Chełm, would also appear to be of Crown provenance, although traditionally it had been retained with the Lithuanian Metrica.[82] A third volume, predominantly with inscriptions

78 See below, especially fns. 187–193, for details about this special series of the Lithuanian Metrica. Two contiguous volumes that form part of the series remain in Moscow.

79 AGAD, ML 220. This item appeared in the Lithuanian section "Books of Public Affairs" in the 1798 St. Petersburg inventory (B–5.28). But after its dispatch to Prussia, a replacement number 28 appeared in the corresponding section in the 1839 inventory and in the Ptaszycki inventory (see fn. 83).

80 The inventory of boundaries between the Grand Duchy and the Crown (the missing item IV.A.2 in Ptaszycki's inventory with the eighteenth-century Warsaw number 49), cannot be located in nineteenth- or earlier twentieth-century Warsaw inventories, but was probably considered part of the "varia" section, much of which was destroyed in 1944. It had been listed as B–4.2 in the 1798 St. Petersburg inventory (see fn. 50). An eighteenth-century Latin-alphabet copy is held in AGAD (ML 212, pp. 593–738). Some earlier references incorrectly mention it as a description of boundaries between the Grand Duchy and Prussia. The corresponding inventory of boundaries between the Grand Duchy and the Crown, prepared in the same year from the point of view of the Crown, remains in AGAD (TzwML IV.B.2).

81 AGAD, TzwML II.A.5 (Ptaszycki II.A.5). It can be identified among the Lithuanian chancery registers in the 1623 list and appears in the eighteenth-century Warsaw inventories of the Lithuanian Metrica (no. 18). See *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej*, pp. 274–75.

82 AGAD, TzwML I.A.26 (Ptaszycki I.A.26); it bore the eighteenth-century Warsaw number 40 in the Lithuanian Metrica complex as then organized. There is no trace of its having been listed with the Crown Metrica in earlier inventories, although it undoubtedly should have been. Again, many its latest entries were

from the reign of Queen Bona but actually with entries dating from the years 1509–1544, is clearly of Lithuanian chancery provenance, although it was not considered part of the Lithuanian Metrica before the early nineteenth-century reorganization in St. Petersburg.[83]

Also in AGAD, and of considerable importance for the study of the history and organization of the Lithuanian Metrica complex, are the sixteen volumes of summaries prepared in Warsaw in the years 1747–1751, and the additional summaries prepared slightly later in the eighteenth century.[84]

A few relatively contemporary copies of other volumes from the Lithuanian chancery have recently been identified in other collections in AGAD, especially in the Radziwiłł Archive. These include two relatively complete books of Lithuanian chancery inscriptions from the years 1511–1518, the second of which, with entries for the years 1516–1518, is apparently a unique chancery register hitherto not known as part of the Metrica complex.[85] The books were not among

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made in Vilnius, which may explain why the volume was left there and remained with the Lithuanian Metrica complex.

[83] AGAD, TzwML III.A.28. This item had apparently been stored in the Cracow Crown Treasury Archive before the end of the eighteenth century. It was added to the Lithuanian Metrica in St. Petersburg, among "Books of Public Affairs," although it is clearly a Book of Inscriptions (see fn. 150). It replaced item no. 28 in that section of the 1798 inventory, since the earlier no. 28 was returned to Warsaw (see fn. 79).

[84] See above, fn. 40. See especially Ptaszycki, "Sumarjusz," pp. 31–44, Jakubowski, "Wiadomości," pp. 215–21, and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska," pp. 91–119. A complete correlation table for all of the Warsaw summaries appears in *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw,* appendixes 4 and 5. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to compare these eighteenth-century summaries with the versions prepared in St. Petersburg after 1803 by Stepan Koziełło. Presumably the Koziełło versions remain in either Moscow or Leningrad, but their present location has not been verified.

[85] AGAD, AR II.69/10. See the informative analysis by Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Nieznane egzemplarze ksiąg Metryki Litewskiej z lat 1440–1518," *Kwartalnik Historyczny,* forthcoming. The first book (pp. 1–304), with inscriptions from the years 1511–1516, is a contemporary copy similar to one held in TsGADA (fond 389, no. 9), which had been listed by Ptaszycki as I.A.9 (Warsaw no. 11), with an eighteenth-century transcription in AGAD (ML 195, pp. 771–1173). A lengthy summary was published in *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag MAMIu,* 21: 193–233 (see also Berezhkov, *Litovskaia Metrika,* pp. 29, 66–70, 129–35, and 141–43). The Radziwiłł copy is more complete and legible than the one now in Moscow, but likewise is not actually an original. The second book (AR II.69/10, pp. 305–448) does not appear in any previous inventories of the Lithuanian Metrica, including the 1623 list. Although it was thus not previously held with the Metrica corpus, it is definitively a chancery book of inscriptions, which continues the earlier one.

the materials transported to St. Petersburg, but rather had been taken into private custody by the Radziwiłł family at various points.[86] In addition, there are a number of Lithuanian Metrica registers in other archives in Poland, some in the original and some in later copies, which had their origin in the Lithuanian chancery. Undoubtedly most significant are the five recently identified seventeenth-century legation books from the Lithuanian chancery now held in the collection of Cyprian Paweł Brzostowski in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow.[87] A detailed survey of these additional volumes in Poland is in preparation.[88]

Of the collection of Polish-Lithuanian archival materials held together by the Governing Senate in St. Petersburg and listed in the Ptaszycki inventory under the unfortunate title "Lithuanian Metrica," approximately one-half is now held in Warsaw. However, in terms of actual Lithuanian chancery registers, relatively few volumes, as we have seen, can be identified in Poland, since most of the materials originating in the chanceries of the Grand Duchy are now held in Moscow.

To make matters even more confusing, the body of materials from the Ptaszycki inventory that remains in Moscow — about half of the whole collection — is also still referred to as the "Lithuanian Metrica." This usage is technically incorrect with reference to all materials remaining in Moscow, but it is similar to usage in Warsaw in the eighteenth century before the entire collection was brought together in St. Petersburg. The usage, nonetheless, is fraught with problems. An additional complication is that over eighty items previously held in the Moscow Foreign Ministry Archive were added to the collection of materials covered by Ptaszycki.

86 Several eighteenth-century volumes from the Radziwiłł archive in AGAD, containing *sigillata* from the Lithuanian Metrica, have been analyzed by Andrzej Rachuba, "Księgi Sigillat Metryki Litewskiej," *Przegląd Historyczny* 72, no. 1 (1981): 95–110, but there are others there that require further study. See below, fn. 136.

87 Czartoryski Library, Cracow, MS nos. 2101, 2103, 2104, 2112, and 2113. I am grateful to B. N. Floria of the Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow for first calling my attention to one of these volumes, which led to my identification of the others with the assistance of Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa. See below (pp. 68–73) for further discussion of the Lithuanian legation books. Several contingent legation books previously held in the Krasiński Library in Warsaw were destroyed during World War II (see fn. 179).

88 See the preliminary list in *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw*, appendix 2.

Over six hundred and sixty units — and if additional documents are counted, probably well over seven hundred units — are now held in fond 389 of the Central State Archive of Early Acts (TsGADA) in Moscow. Usually referred to as the "Fond of the Lithuanian Metrica," technically the group should be described as a collection, because it is not a cohesive body of institutional records. The materials are not arranged as a true archival fond, with respect to their provenance and natural order. Indeed, their very jumbled order and artificial organization reflect their complex history as part of the Polish-Lithuanian archival materials brought from Warsaw to St. Petersburg after the Third Partition of Poland.

Among these materials are approximately five hundred volumes of Lithuanian chancery registers which should be identified as the Lithuanian Metrica. Many, however, have been recopied and bound out of their original natural order. And there are related records and miscellaneous volumes of varying provenance that have traditionally been stored with the chancery registers, copied with them, and earlier inventoried with them. On the other hand, as has already been noted, actual Lithuanian chancery registers are extant elsewhere, in archives and manuscript collections in Poland and elsewhere in the Soviet Union.

The so-called Fond of the Lithuanian Metrica in TsGADA has not been reorganized since the time of the Ptaszycki inventory, although half of the materials covered by that inventory were returned to Poland. In fact, the Ptaszycki inventory is still used as the basic internal finding aid in the archive, with pencilled consecutive numbers added in the left-hand margin. The remaining 585 storage units (Russian, *edinitsa khraneniia*) — all bound register volumes — have been renumbered consecutively from 1 to 586, without changing their order in the Ptaszycki inventory.[89]

These 585 units (nos. 1–25, 27–586) in the renumbered Ptaszycki inventory now officially constitute the first inventory (*opis'* 1) of the fond of the Lithuanian Metrica (fond 389) in TsGADA. That fond now also contains supplemental documentation from the Polish-

[89] This analysis is based on the examination of the working copy of the Ptaszycki inventory in TsGADA and on consultations with the archival staff. Number 26 is missing in the TsGADA code sequence because the item with the original Ptaszycki number I.A.26 was among those returned to Poland — a fact apparently not taken into account in the renumbering. For the present code numbers, see the augmented reedition of the Ptaszycki inventory, *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw* (see fn. 3).

Lithuanian Commonwealth, grouped in two separate "inventories" (*opisi*).[90] The first, now counted as the second inventory (*opis'* 2), with units numbered sequentially from 587 through 665, itself has two parts. The first part (nos. 587–601), integrated into the fond in TsGADA after the Second World War, is described in a brief typewritten inventory entitled "Legation Registers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (from the Moscow Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs)."[91] Not all the fifteen volumes listed are actual Lithuanian legation books, however. Apparently only ten or eleven of them had been housed with the Lithuanian Metrica before it came to St. Petersburg. Study and scholarly description of all these volumes is needed, but it is immediately apparent that at least four are definitely not of Lithuanian chancery origin.[92] One is apparently not even related to foreign affairs.[93]

The second part of the second inventory (*opis'* 2, nos. 602–665), with documentation starting in the 1550s, now has only the briefest summary inventory. Many of the materials listed there appear to be original documents, copies of documents, correspondence, and other fragments, some of which were apparently earlier bound together. Further study will be required to determine whether or not these fragments were originally an actual Lithuanian legation book.[94]

Even more puzzling is the so-called third inventory (*opis'* 3) in this fond, which reportedly includes individual charters and other fragments presumed to be part of, or associated with, the Lithuanian Metrica.[95] We must await the results of inventory and descriptive work

90 In Soviet archival practices, all materials in an archive are organized into fonds (Russian plural *fondy*), which constitute an integral group of records or collection of archival materials. Fonds, in turn, are frequently divided into different "inventories" (Russian plural *opisi*). Thus once an initial inventory for a given fond has been completed, a second or third inventory will be begun as necessary to accommodate materials added later.

91 The working inventory bears the Russian title, "Posol'skaia metrika Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo (iz Moskovskogo arkhiva Ministerstva inostrannykh del)." See the correlation of these registers with current TsGADA code numbers as well as earlier Warsaw code numbers in Appendix 1 of the augmented edition of Ptaszycki's inventory, *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw.*

92 See below, especially fns. 162–64.

93 TsGADA, fond 389, opis' 2, no. 601. It is described as a volume of protocols in Polish of meetings of an administrative commission in Warsaw (1774–1776).

94 The sketchy inventory available in TsGADA is insufficient to determine the provenance of these documents, or their earlier archival designations.

95 Although described to me by archivists in TsGADA during my last visit in 1979, no such inventory was available. Also unavailable were any indications about the previous institutional location or provenance of these documents, so I have been unable to determine why they are assigned to the fond of the Lithuanian Metrica.

reportedly being undertaken in TsGADA to appraise their actual relationship to the Lithuanian Metrica.

The vast majority of materials from the Ptaszycki inventory now in the TsGADA fond are actual chancery registers from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania or related groups of materials traditionally stored with the Metrica complex in Vilnius and then in Warsaw after the 1740s. As for the many materials not technically part of the Metrica that have been kept together with it for so many centuries, it will be virtually impossible to remove them. What researchers need is a scholarly inventory that will identify and describe each volume, so that a clear distinction can be made between those that are actual chancery registers and those of alternate provenance.

One important group of volumes now stored with the Lithuanian Metrica in TsGADA must, however, be recognized as not belonging to the Lithuanian Metrica, and should clearly be distinguished from it in a new inventory. It has already been noted that most of the Crown Metrica registers brought to St. Petersburg (including those covered by Ptaszycki) were returned to Warsaw. However, one group of thirty registers remained: a sub-series of Crown Metrica registers of Warsaw provenance pertaining to Ukrainian lands from 1569 to 1673 — the so-called Ruthenian, or Volhynian, Metrica.[96] From the standpoint of provenance and previous inventories, this series must be considered part of the Crown Metrica. Even in the Ptaszycki inventory these volumes are listed separately as Crown inscription books (in section I.B: *Knigi zapisei — Koronnaia*).[97] The lands to which these registers pertained — the Crown palatinates of Kiev, Volhynia, Bratslav, and (after 1635) Chernihiv — had been part of the Grand Duchy

[96] TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 191–219. See the introductory notes in *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej*, pp. 229–30. The Ruthenian series is described on pp. 230–40, under the numbers MK 304–332. My more detailed discussion of this series is planned for a forthcoming issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.

[97] See the Ptaszycki reprint, pp. 108–111 (I.B nos 1–30, 32). The original Warsaw Crown Metrica code numbers have been added (MK nos. 304–332), except for Ptaszycki no. 23 (TsGADA no. 213), which was not assigned a Crown Metrica number and hence not listed in *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej*, pp. 230–40. Note that Ptaszycki, sec. I.B, no. 31, was transferred to Warsaw where in AGAD it is now held as TzwML I.B.31, although it has also been listed with the Crown Metrica as MK 81 (see below, fn. 191). In his recent analysis of the Lithuanian Metrica in relation to the Ukrainian lands, the historian Mykola Koval's'kyi (N. P. Koval'skii) does not discuss this series, although in a chart showing the structure of the Lithuanian Metrica fond in TsGADA, he lists these volumes as books of inscriptions of the Lithuanian Metrica: *Istochniki po istorii Ukrainy XVI — pervoi poloviny XVII v. v Litovskoi metrike i fondakh prikazov TsGADA* (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1979), pp. 3–33 (chart, pp. 6–7).

of Lithuania before 1569. But under the terms of the Union of Lublin, they came under the direct jurisdiction of the Polish Crown; separate inscription books were then kept for these areas by the Crown chancery until the 1670s. One additional volume in this series, with inscriptions from the years 1609–1612, is extant today in the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences.[98]

A register containing summaries of the most important documents in these registers was prepared in 1673 by the Crown Metricant, Stefan Kazimierz Hankiewicz.[99] Two copies of this inventory were listed by Ptaszycki, one of which was returned to Poland in the 1920s and is now held in AGAD.[100] Because of the prime importance of these records for Ukrainian history, an edition of this inventory is now being prepared for publication by the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University.

The other 555 volumes of Lithuanian provenance listed in the

[98] Kórnik MS 323 (61 folios). The volume has not been listed in previous inventories of the Crown Metrica, but fills a gap in the existing TsGADA series. The formal title page is missing, but there is an added title: "Xięgi spraw Ruskich K. I. M. Zigmunta III za J. W. Szczesnego Kriskiego podkanclerzego kor. p. przes Jana Marcinkiewicza, 1609–1612." Contingent volumes of the Crown Metrica Ruthenian series have a gap for those years. MK 321 (TsGADA no. 218) includes inscriptions for the years 1605–1609, while MK 322 (TsGADA no. 205) covers 1611–1613.

The seventeenth-century Hankiewicz inventory of the Crown Metrica, in its section for the Ruthenian series, also lacks this volume. That inventory indicated the original letter designations for sequential volumes as well as its own numbers, and there the letter 'P' is missing in the sequence, which would fit exactly for these years of the Kórnik manuscript.

[99] "Index actorum publicorum, albo regestr xiąg y w nich spraw, przywileiow, dekretow krolewskich do woiewodztw czterech: Kijowskiego, Wołyńskiego, Bracławskiego y Czerniechowskiego, ferowanych y wydanych z kancelariey koronney od roku 1569 do 1673 inclusive za staraniem, pracą y kosztem własnym Stefana Kazimierza Hankiewicza anno 1673." The Kórnik volume is missing from this inventory, as well.

[100] AGAD, TzwML VIII.1. The second copy listed by Ptaszycki (VIII.2) was not returned to Warsaw, but it is reportedly missing from TsGADA. It might remain with materials from the prerevolutionary Moscow Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MGAMID), to which it was transferred in 1888 (according to the introduction in *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag MAMIu,* 21: xiv). Obviously it will be important to locate and compare it with the Warsaw copy now being prepared for publication. A similar copy was listed in a prerevolutionary catalogue of Polish manuscripts in the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg (Pol. F.II.76); that copy was revindicated to Warsaw in the 1920s and perished in 1944. However, it is doubtful that this now destroyed St. Petersburg copy was the missing inventory listed by Ptaszycki (VIII.2), because it was verified as having been held in the St. Petersburg library in a catalogue prepared in 1859 (now held in the Jagellonian Library, Cracow, MS 5554), whereas the Ptaszycki second copy had also been listed with the Metrica corpus in the inventories of 1798 and 1839. An additional, less complete copy, dating from the eighteenth century, is also available in AGAD (Archiwum Kameralne III.320), but it was never in St. Petersburg.

sketchy Ptaszycki inventory are grouped in the Lithuanian sections under five distinct headings: I.A — Books of Inscriptions, II.A — Books of Judicial Affairs, III.A — Books of Public Affairs, IV.A — Books of Revisions, or Land Survey Books, and VI — Books of Sealings. Except for a few scattered volumes, the Polish materials covered by the remaining seven sections of the Ptaszycki inventory are now in Warsaw.

Thus, archival arrangement has not changed at all since the publication of Ptaszycki's inventory for the materials of Lithuanian origin (the exceptions are the materials from the Foreign Ministry Archive that were never included), although the larger collection with which they had been housed has been reduced by at least half. Yet confusion occurs, because all of the code numbers of individual items have been altered. Hence in referring to the volumes as they exist today, it is also important to keep in mind their correlation with the Ptaszycki code numbers. Accordingly, problems of the general organization and specific arrangement perpetrated by the Ptaszycki inventory persist.

The section divisions in the Ptaszycki inventory, as we shall see in more detail below, are not wholly wrong in respect to the types of books produced at certain times in the Lithuanian chancery. However, many volumes are not placed in the appropriate section (indeed, because of mixed content, some could not have been appropriately placed); many volumes are not appropriately grouped within these sections; and many volumes interspersed in the collection are technically not chancery registers of the Grand Duchy at all.

A close examination of the Ptaszycki inventory reveals a multitude of such problems in the arrangement of the Lithuanian Metrica complex. Ptaszycki himself recognized some problems and mentioned them in passing in his introduction.[101] He foresaw the need for a full scholarly inventory, although his own simply repeated the arrangement then current in St. Petersburg.

The important question remaining before us is how the sections and the arrangement of volumes within sections in the Ptaszycki inventory correspond to the original order of metrica books as they were created and stored in the grand ducal chanceries. To answer that question we must turn to a consideration of the order in which the Metrica registers was composed and of the series which should be identified within the Lithuanian Metrica complex.

[101] Ptaszycki, *Opisanie,* pp. 21–58.

3. PROBLEMS OF SEQUENCE AND SERIES GROUPINGS WITHIN THE LITHUANIAN METRICA

The many changes in organization imposed on the Lithuanian Metrica complex over the centuries has made it very difficult to reconstruct the sequence in which volumes were created and the natural series or groupings in which they should be arranged in a scholarly inventory. Too frequently scholars have been wedded to the artificial organization imposed on the Lithuanian Metrica after it was brought to St. Petersburg and the often erroneous arrangement of series perpetrated by the Ptaszycki inventory.

The only surviving inventory from the seventeenth century (1623) makes it appear that when the Metrica was initially stored in Vilnius, it was not arranged in strict series, as the Crown Metrica was in the corresponding inventory from the 1670s. Yet regardless of how the volumes may have been stored at the time and how they were erroneously rearranged later, we should recognize certain natural groups of chancery registers and delineate between specific chancery functions as recorded in different groups of registers.

Some controversy legitimately remains about how early delineations were made between types of registers and how strictly they were observed in chancery practice. It is clear, nevertheless, that such distinctions did develop during the sixteenth century. Historians who made extensive prerevolutionary studies of the early books of the Lithuanian Metrica, such as M. K. Liubavskii and I. I. Lappo, referred to the disparate and disorganized character of entries in the Metrica registers.[102] They have been strongly criticized by the later historian, N. G. Berezhkov, who tried to prove that the Metrica books had a strict order and subject-oriented rationale from the outset. Berezhkov's analysis, based on the most detailed study of the Metrica to date and published in 1946, deals only with the books through the year 1522, and hence does not broach the problem for the entire Metrica complex.[103]

[102] M. K. Liubavskii, *Litovsko-russkii seim: Opyt po istorii uchrezhdeniia v sviazi s vnutrennim stroem i vneshneiu zhizn'iu gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1900), especially pp. 386–88, and I. I. Lappo, *Velikoe kniazhestvo Litovskoe za vremia ot zakliucheniia Liublinskoi unii do smerti Stefana Batoriia (1569–1586): Opyt issledovaniia politicheskogo i obshchestvennogo stroia* (St. Petersburg, 1901), pp. 403–404.

[103] Berezhkov, *Litovskaia metrika,* passim, especially pp. 105–106. Appended to Berezhkov's study are detailed tables of the organization and purported subject-matter divisions for all of the volumes through 1522 (pp. 116–53).

It is almost impossible to reconstruct definitively the contents and original organization of the books of this period. Indeed, from the reigns of Grand Duke Casimir (1440–1492) and Alexander (1492–1506), only four volumes, in copies made toward the end of the sixteenth century, are now extant.[104] The book with the earliest inscriptions includes entries from the years 1440–1506, but since it is a copy, we cannot verify the original order and gaps in its inscriptions, whether other books were kept simultaneously in that period, or whether the extant volume might have been copied as a compendium of several separate books.[105] Another copy of this particular volume, dating from the second half of the sixteenth century, has recently been identified in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow.[106]

After a preliminary study of this volume and the three others from the reigns of Casimir and Alexander, it is hard to agree completely with Berezhkov that they were all initially fragments of separate books which from the outset had been kept with a strict regard for subject matter and type of entries. Composed of fragments they undoubtedly were, but that does not necessarily mean that strict subject-matter delineations were observed in fifteenth-century books.

Berezhkov's thesis is on much more solid ground for books starting with the reign of Sigismund I (1506–1548). He had good reason to insist that clear distinctions were made between several books of inscriptions and books for judicial affairs (*sprav sudovykh*) from the time that Albrecht Gashtol'd became chancellor in July 1522.[107] It is also possible to distinguish several foreign legation

[104] TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6. The first two and most of the third are published in *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka* (hereafter *RIB*), vol. 27: *Litovskaia metrika,* division 1, pt. 1: *Kniga zapisei,* vol. 1, ed. I. I. Lappo (St. Petersburg, 1910). A detailed summary of the final part of no. 5 and of no. 6 is published in *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag MAMIu,* vol. 21. Copies of all four volumes in Latin-alphabet transcriptions from 1777 remain in AGAD (ML 191A, 191B, and 192).

[105] TsGADA, fond 389, no. 3. Berezhkov quite appropriately divides the book into three separate units, none of which appears complete (*Litovskaia metrika,* pp. 116–17). See also his earlier discussion of this book (ibid., pp. 71–78, passim).

[106] Czartoryski Library, Cracow, MS 2329. See the forthcoming analysis by Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Nieznane egzemplarze." Her initial comparison with the earlier published version reveals that the structure of the Cracow copy is identical, but that it is much more complete and probably later than the copy extant in Moscow from which the 1910 published version was prepared.

[107] Berezhkov, *Litovskaia metrika,* p. 27 (notes on p. 157). He cites the title pages

books dating from the early sixteenth century, and, from later in the century, separate books for inventories of estates and frontiers.[108]

Approximately 170 volumes with entries dating from the sixteenth century survive, but the exact number of initially separate chancery books extant is virtually impossible to establish. Many of the volumes consist of several separate books, and many are not actual chancery registers from the Grand Duchy. Among the extant chancery registers, several groups of similar and even consecutive books containing entries on a specific subject or region certainly can be distinguished. There is no question, however, that many sixteenth-century chancery registers, particularly before mid-century, are of highly mixed content, including even reports of foreign legations. Thus Berezhkov's type of careful analysis should be pursued for later sixteenth-century volumes, even if modification of his general thesis may be required.[109]

A very similar situation exists for volumes from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although chancery functions became more differentiated with time. Still, groups of books were not devoted to the same subjects or regions for all periods. Types of entries changed with the needs and record-keeping practices of the chanceries and with the changes of state institutions and judicial functions over the centuries.

The groupings of books from the Crown Metrica, which have been better studied and more thoroughly inventoried, can help us considerably by providing analogous forms and models.[110] However, we must recognize that the functions of the two chanceries did not always correlate. Most important, as already explained, we have no evidence that the Lithuanian Metrica books were stored with series designations before the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, it seems appropriate to

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of TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 12 and 224, both dating from 1522, which demonstrate the clear intent to delineate entries.

108 Berezhkov, *Litovskaia metrika,* p. 115 and passim.

109 Berezhkov had intended a subsequent analysis covering the period up to the Union of Lublin in 1569. See the introduction by N. N. Ulashchik to the posthumously published article by Berezhkov, "Itinerarii Velikikh kniazei litovskikh po materialam Litovskoi Metriki (1481–1530 gg.)," *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik za 1961 god,* pp. 180–82. Further study of Berezhkov's papers, now held in the Manuscript Division of the Lenin Library, might well be helpful, since he devoted so much time and effort to the analysis of the Lithuanian Metrica.

110 See particularly the Hankiewicz inventory from the 1670s (fn. 36), and the recent AGAD inventory, *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej* (see fn. 7). The 1975 published inventory of the Crown Metrica, it should be noted, covers primarily those volumes in AGAD, and does not include the many other extant volumes, such as those in the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences and other

follow natural groupings and at least rough chronological order in trying to establish an ideal inventory.

a. *Books of Inscriptions*

There is no question that the main "Books of Inscriptions" should constitute the first and most basic list in an ideal inventory of the Lithuanian Metrica. That practice would follow the usage established in organizing the similar books of the Crown Metrica.[111] Books of mixed content, with copies of documents relating to judicial proceedings, foreign legations, and other matters, interspersed with basic chancery inscriptions, should also be grouped together chronologically with the main Books of Inscriptions. But each volume must be analyzed individually, to determine whether or not parts of the volumes as they are bound today actually constitute separate books that should be listed separately in different series. The detailed lists that Berezhkov formulated for the Metrica books pre-dating 1522 can serve as a model, despite some discrepancies, errors, and possibly exaggerated distinctions.[112]

Ptaszycki's inventory serves only to indicate how such volumes were classified in St. Petersburg in the nineteenth century. In no way should it be relied upon for correct arrangement. Many of the books Ptaszycki listed in the section for Books of Inscriptions should not be considered inscription books at all. For example, the first two volumes in that section, as mentioned earlier, are two copies of the same inventory of charters in the Grand Ducal treasury.[113] Further on in the same section are a number of books relating uniquely to judicial affairs.[114] Even more aggravating, a number of volumes that should be considered inscription books are listed in other sections of the Ptaszycki inventory.[115]

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collections. Berezhkov underplayed the value of the Crown Metrica as a model, but his appraisal might have profited from more comparative analysis.

[111] One should note, however, that some of the books listed in the series of Books of Inscriptions in the latest (1977) inventory of the Crown Metrica are not technically inscription books. However, they were included in that list because they had been assigned numbers in that series in previous inventories. See *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej,* pp. 13–146.

[112] Berezhkov, *Litovskaia metrika,* pp. 116–53.

[113] TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 1 and 2. See above, fn. 11. In the prerevolutionary publication series for the Lithuanian Metrica, that inventory was not published with the Books of Inscriptions, but in a separate series for archival inventories.

[114] For example, I.A.27 (TsGADA, fond 389, no. 27), I.A.16 (no. 16) I.A.34 (no. 34), I.A.40 (no. 40), and I.A.68 (no. 68).

[115] Ptaszycki himself indicates in his annotations a number of volumes in the

Once one has isolated all of the books that should be considered actual inscription books, including those with composite entries, simple chronological order is undoubtedly the best grouping.[116] It would also be useful to group inscription books under successive reigning monarchs, as was done in the chancery list from 1623, although a few volumes may overlap reigns.

An ideal inventory should probably list chancery and vice-chancery books in separate groups, at least for the Books of Inscriptions, although inevitably some problems would emerge. If separate listings are not possible in the main inventory, the chancery of origin should be clearly indicated and a correlated chart and/or appended list should be provided. A firm distinction with separate inventories for these groups of registers was established in the eighteenth-century organization of the Lithuanian Metrica: this is apparent in the 1747–1751 Warsaw inventories and summaries, as well as those from the 1780s prepared under Naruszewicz.[117] However, the distinction was lost completely in the later St. Petersburg reorganization, as is apparent in the Ptaszycki inventory.[118] Inventories of the Crown Metrica have never been arranged in separate lists, although books of the vice-chancellor and the chancellor were always maintained separately under the Crown, as was the case in the Grand Duchy.[119]

According to the Warsaw organization of the Lithuanian Metrica,

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second section for books of judicial affairs which are actually books of inscriptions. For example, II.A.241 (fond 389, no. 455), II.A.44 (no. 258), and II.A.52 (no. 266).

116 A chronological order based strictly on the dates of entries may sometimes need modification, to take into account register books that may have been compiled retrospectively or that include copies of earlier or later documents. Whenever possible, the actual dates of inscriptions should determine the chronological framework, not the miscellaneous documents that might be bound in the same volume.

117 See above, pp. 288–89.

118 In most cases, however, Ptaszycki indicates the original Warsaw letters for the vice-chancery books as well as the numbers for the chancery books, so it is still possible to observe the distinction from the eighteenth-century system. In St. Petersburg, the earlier Warsaw numbers and letters were kept visible on the spine of most volumes, but now that new numbers have been added in TsGADA, many of the earlier codes have been obscured.

119 In the Crown Metrica, the distinction between chancery and vice-chancery registers was strictly observed since the early fifteenth century. However, the distinction was rarely observed in the later storage of the records, as evidenced already by the earliest extant inventory by Hankiewicz dating from the 1670s. In fact, there is no extant inventory of the Crown Metrica that separates chancery and vice-chancery books into separate groups, although such distinctions are usually indicated in the titles.

the first extant books specifically from the vice-chancery date from 1579, the year when Krzysztof Mikołaj Radziwiłł became vice-chancellor.[120] These books and subsequent vice-chancellor books do not appear in the 1623 list of books from the main chancery, which would suggest the vice-chancery books were then stored separately.[121] However, the titles of earlier inscription books indicate that they come from Ostafi Bohdanowicz Wołłowicz, the first vice-chancellor of record in the Grand Duchy, who held the office from 1566 to 1579.[122] Two judicial books, one for the years 1561–1566, and one starting in 1563, are also labeled as belonging to the same vice-chancellor, although he might have started to maintain these books earlier, while still *pisarz*.[123] Such problems may make establishing a strict division of books for the mid-sixteenth century difficult, but later the distinctions are formalized and clear.[124]

Books of Inscriptions devoted to a specific subject should preferably be grouped together, or at least so indicated in a separate list. For example, one group of books of inscriptions is devoted to Livonia (Inflanty), starting with 1588 to the year 1645, when the region was under the joint sovereignty of the Grand Duchy and the Crown.[125] Five

[120] TsGADA, fond 389, no. 65 (Warsaw no. "A"), is the earliest extant volume designated as inscriptions from the minor chancery (1579–1588); three others start with inscriptions from 1585 (fond 389, nos. 73, 74, and 278; Warsaw nos. "B," "C," and "D").

[121] None of the books in the Warsaw inventories and summaries for the vice-chancery books appear in the 1623 list. One possible exception is a volume with inscriptions relating to Livonia from the years 1589–1598 that is labeled from the vice-chancery (TsGADA, fond 389, no. 80; Warsaw no. "G"). However, the correlation is not ascertainable, since the 1623 list gives no dates for the third volume relating to Livonia from the reign of Sigismund III.

[122] TsGADA, fond 389, no. 49 (1566–1572), with the Ptaszycki no. I.A.49 and the Warsaw no. 117; and no. 267 (1566–1572), with the Ptaszycki no. II.A.53 and the Warsaw no. 116. Both are listed in the 1623 list.

[123] TsGADA, fond 389, no. 259 (1561–1566) (Warsaw no. 104, Ptaszycki no. II.A.45); no. 263 (1563–1570) (Warsaw no. 109, Ptaszycki no. II.A.49); and no. 271 (Warsaw no. 129, Ptaszycki no. II.A.57). All are listed in the 1623 list, with titles indicating their origin in the vice-chancery. According to the authoritative study of Józef Wolff, *Senatorowie i dygnitarze Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, 1386–1795* (Cracow, 1885), Wołłowicz became vice-chancellor on 11 March 1566, although previously he had held several other offices including that of *pisarz*.

[124] Although usually a strict distinction was made in the registers, there was often considerable overlap in the actual documents inscribed, since in many cases documents passed through, and were sealed and registered in, both the main and minor chancery. More study is needed of the actual chancery functions and processes involved.

[125] TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 75, 79–82, 87, 90, 98, 105, and 116. Most of these volumes actually bore a separate title accordingly.

of these books were grouped together under the heading of Livonia in the 1623 inventory.[126] There are also several books devoted to the regions of Smolensk and Siveria (Ukrainian, Sivers'k; Polish, Siewierz), with documentation for the years 1620 through 1641, again the period when those regions were under Grand Ducal sovereignty.[127] Several of them are even titled accordingly.[128] Interestingly enough, some of these volumes, in both the Livonian and the Smolensk series, are designated as coming from the vice-chancery and others, as from the main chancery.

With the eighteenth-century books now listed in the inscription book series, there may be other distinctions or natural groups not currently indicated. Furthermore, the unresolved problem of when a distinction arose in the Lithuanian chancery between the "Books of Inscriptions" and the so-called "Books of Public Affairs" (or "Chancellor's Books") may affect the appropriate grouping in both those series.[129]

For the Lithuanian chancery inscription books an ideal inventory should include all known volumes or copies currently held in archives and manuscript collections elsewhere as well as those in the basic collections in TsGADA and AGAD. Three such inscription books from the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century, recently described in Polish collections, have already been mentioned.[130] For the early seventeenth century, a volume with inscriptions starting with the year 1633 has been described as part of the Ossolineum collection, and presumably remains in Lviv.[131] Other original volumes or copies are

126 We cannot definitively correlate no. 80 with the 1623 list (see fn. 121), but there were five books listed in the Livonia section for the reign of Sigismund III. Nos. 87 (1596–1603) and 90 (1609–1617) are listed later in the 1623 inventory. The latest three volumes date from after the inventory: no. 98 (1622–1623; not bound until 1747), no. 105 (1636–1641), and 116 (1643–1645).

127 TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 97 (1620–1622), 101 (1623–1625), 99, pt. 2 (1623–1631), 102, pt. 2 (1627–1631), 103, pt. 2 (1630–1631), 108 (1633–1641), and 110 (1633–1635).

128 See, for example, no. 101, "Metryka ziemi Siewierskiey za panowania K. I. M. Zygmunta III, w ktorey przywileie, daniny, consensa, konfirmaty, fundusze y inne sprawy za podkanclerzstwa I. W. Pana Pawła Sapiehi."

129 See the discussion of this separate series below, and particularly indications of books involved in a possible overlap between the two series (especially fns. 151 and 152).

130 See above fns. 85 and 106. See Sułkowska-Kuriasiowa, "Nieznane egzemplarze."

131 See the detailed description in the catalogue compiled by Wojciech Kętrzyński, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich/Cata-*

undoubtedly to be found in other collections, so it is important to supply appropriate descriptive data.

b. *Books of Sealings (Sigillata)*

For the Crown Metrica, a separate series of registers contains summaries (rather than fully inscribed copies) of documents bearing royal seals — the so-called *sigillata.* For the Lithuanian Metrica, among the collections now held in Moscow there are only three similar volumes, two covering documents for five years in the seventeenth century (1645–1648 and 1650–1651) and one covering four years in the eighteenth century (1782–1786). All three of these volumes originate in the vice-chancery. In the Ptaszycki inventory the two books from the seventeenth century are listed alone in the separate section VI, entitled "Sigillata."[132] Their titles, clearly indicating that they are registers of documents with seals, do not contain the term "sigillata,"[133] but, instead, "reestr" (or "regestr" in Polish), signifying that they contain only lists of documents — in the form of a register — rather than full copies of the documents.

The late eighteenth-century volume that remains in TsGADA is listed in Ptaszycki's section IX, with miscellaneous documents of Polish provenance. It bears the title "Sigillata."[134] Other lists of *sigillata* are to be found among the original documentation bound as annexes to the protocols of the Permanent Council (*Rada Nieustająca*) of the Commonwealth, to which they were transmitted regularly during 1773–1795. These volumes of protocols are now held in AGAD as part of the materials revindicated to Poland from Ptaszycki's section VII.[135] Again,

logus codicum manuscriptorum Biblothecae Ossolinianae Leopoliensis, vol. 1 (Lviv, 1881), pp. 571–82.

132 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 584 (Warsaw no. "UU") and 585 (Warsaw no. "CCC").

133 They are listed in the Warsaw eighteenth-century summaries only by title, since obviously it would have been impossible, and there would have been no need, to summarize them. Further study is needed to determine the formal relationship between the documents registered in these volumes and the other contemporary inscription books.

134 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 586. "Sigillata kancellaryi mnieyszey W. X. L." Analysis of this volume must determine whether it is a compendium of separate *sigillata* lists presented to the Permanent Council (*Rada Nieustająca*) or a consecutive register actually kept by the chancery.

135 These "sigillata" lists for the minor chancery form a relatively complete series in the annexes to the protocols from April 1775 through June 1779 (AGAD, TzwML IX.70–71, 124, 74, 76–80, 82–84, 86), and from July 1786 through August 1788 (TzwML VII.155, fols. 361–389v). *Sigillata* lists for the main chancery are available there only for the period November 1775 through March 1776. A detailed

they require analysis and comparison with other chancery registers from the same years.

A young Polish historian, Andrzej Rachuba, has started an important study of the Lithuanian *sigillata,* and has identified some similar volumes in Polish collections which together form a series covering the years 1709–1751 and 1764–1767.[136] However, as he himself has recognized, it is difficult to be sure that all of these volumes should be technically considered chancery books of the Lithuanian Metrica. Indeed, as he has pointed out, several appear simply to be indexes or, as he calls them, "proto-summaries" (*proto-sumariusz*), whereas several others are definitely copies and still others are chancery aids which were prepared as needed from time to time.

I myself am not convinced that a regular, formal series of *sigillata* was intended for permanent storage with the Lithuanian Metrica similar to that for the Crown Metrica begun in 1658.[137] Certainly such a series was not maintained at all times, and no other volumes of *sigillata* are listed in eighteenth-century inventories. For the seventeenth century, we still have only two volumes from the vice-chancery covering five years, and there is no evidence of earlier lists of *sigillata.* Further investigation is necessary, and conclusions cannot be drawn until detailed descriptions of all of the Metrica volumes remaining in Moscow and in other repositories have been prepared.

Perhaps there was a direct relationship between the initial contemporary summaries prepared for each volume and the registers of *sigillata.* We know that for most of the extant books of inscriptions — and also the books of legal decrees — summaries of the most important documents were entered in a register at the beginning or end of each volume, presumably at the time the document was recorded.

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inventory is available in AGAD. After initial analysis, it appears that the *sigillata* lists are missing from these records for the period 1780–1785, the years which are covered by volume 586 in TsGADA cited above (fn. 134). Probably an additional copy of these lists of *sigillata* would have been retained in the chancery, but unless volume 586 represents such a list, none have been found from the period.

136 See Rachuba's first article on this subject, "Księgi Sigillat Metryki Litewskiej," *Przegląd Historyczny* 72, no. 1 (1981): 95–110, which includes as an appendix the edition of a fragment of a volume dating from the years 1709–1719, found in the Razdiwiłł Archive (AGAD, AR II.69/11, pp. 1–69). Rachuba has not included the *sigillata* lists from the annexes of protocols for the later eighteenth-century, but further analysis of these may prove important for his study.

137 Regarding the Crown Metrica series, see Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Księgi Sigillat Metryki Koronnej (1658–1794)," *Archeion* 54 (1970): 41–57. See also the introduction and inventory of extant Crown *sigillata,* "Księgi Pieczętne (Sigillata) Metryki Koronnej, 1658–1794," in *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej,* pp. 165–80.

These same types of summaries appear in most of the books that were recopied at the end of the sixteenth century, and were likewise recopied in the Warsaw transcriptions begun in 1777. An initial or additional registration of special sealings may have been made in separate volumes from time to time, as a convenience for the chancery, or lists of such sealings could have been recopied from the summaries. Some of the summaries in sixteenth-century Metrica volumes note certain entries as "sigillata." In these cases, the reference is to inscriptions which register only short summaries of documents, not to complete copies.[138] Further study must determine what types of documents were so treated and why, and if certain patterns can be determined in the record-keeping practices in terms of documentary registration for special types of sealings.

It may also prove revealing to compare those documents registered in the two extant seventeenth-century registers of "sigillata" with documents in the inscription books of the vice-chancery from the same years, and to compare the documents listed in the eighteenth-century *sigillata* found in Warsaw with the contents of the contemporaneous inscription of books and summaries in Moscow.[139] Solving the problem of the existence and character of *sigillata* registers should prove extremely important to a better understanding of the pattern of inscription books and their composition over the centuries.

c. *Books of Public Affairs*

A section of the Ptaszycki inventory is devoted to "Books of Public Affairs," but one can question the appropriateness of that designation for most of the volumes listed there. Such a series exists for the Crown

[138] This pattern can be seen in many of the summaries that appear together with the early volumes in the eighteenth-century copies in Latin-alphabet transcription now held in AGAD (ML 191A–219). See, for example, the transcriptions for Warsaw no. 11 (ML 195). An additional separate copy of many of these summaries is available in three volumes (MSS 227, 228, and 229) in the Naruszewicz collection in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow, comprising (with some gaps) copies of summaries from books through the mid-sixteenth century with the eighteenth-century Warsaw numbers 3–63. These summaries should be compared with the Moscow volumes to be sure the term "sigillata" was not simply added in the eighteenth century to signify documents only mentioned in summary in the originals.

[139] It would also be helpful to compare the eighteenth-century summaries that had been prepared in Warsaw with the contemporary summaries at the beginning of the original volumes now in Moscow (TsGADA), as well as with the Polish summaries that were added to individual volumes when they were rebound under Naruszewicz at the end of the eighteenth century.

Metrica, but starting only in 1735. Books in the Crown Metrica series include entries for many important affairs of state which earlier would have been recorded in the inscription books themselves.[140] We do not know when or if such a series was started for the Lithuanian Metrica, but if it was, it could have begun only in the eighteenth century. Certainly it never existed in the form or content presented in the Ptaszycki inventory. At least one-half of the books cited in Ptaszycki's section IV.A should have formed a section of *varia,* technically books of miscellaneous or uncertain grouping. This is especially true of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books listed in the Ptaszycki section.

For example, the first book in this section in the Ptaszycki inventory is a muster roll dating from 1528, which was later published in St. Petersburg under the title "First Book of Public Affairs."[141] However, muster rolls of this type were not formal chancery registers, and hence technically are not part of the Lithuanian Metrica.[142] A number of other Lithuanian muster rolls from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were listed among the records of the Lithuanian Military Commission (*Litovskaia voiskovaia komissiia*) in the late nineteenth-century inventories of the Vilnius Central Archive of Early Record Books.[143] Several other such volumes had been identified in the Imper-

140 Regarding the Crown Metrica series, see the analysis by Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Księgi kanclerskie (księgi spraw publicznych) Metryki Koronnej," *Archeion* 60 (1974): 143–58, as well as the introduction and inventory of extant Crown volumes in *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej,* pp. 181–228.

141 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 523. See the published version in the series edited by the Imperial Archeographic Commission: *Litovskaia Metrika,* division 1, pt. 3: *Knigi publichnykh del. Perepisi voiska litovskogo,* ed. Stanisław Ptaszycki (S. L. Ptashitskii) in *RIB,* vol. 33 (Petrograd, 1915): "Kniga I-aia publichnykh del," no. 1/21 (1528), cols. 1–232.

142 The texts of the two similar sixteenth-century muster rolls were included in the same St. Petersburg publication: "Reestr popisu voiska Velikogo kniazhestva litovskogo roku 1565," *RIB,* vol. 33, cols. 237–430 (the 1634 manuscript copy was then held by the Imperial Public Library, F.IV.82, and presumably remains in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Leningrad); and "Popis' voiska Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo leta 1567," cols. 431–1378 (the manuscript was then held in the Radziwiłł archive in Nesvizh, and is now in AGAD, AR VIII.83). It was clearly indicated that these other muster rolls were never housed with the Metrica, although the 1528 volume (no. 523) had been listed in all extant earlier inventories, including the 1623 list.

143 Gorbachevskii, *Katalog,* nos. 4136–4173 (1771–1794), pp. 128–29. Earlier ones from the seventeenth century were added in the later inventory by Sprogis, *Inwentarz,* nos. 4104–4181 (1663–1794), pp. 139–41. There are no more recent guides or published inventories covering these materials, but presumably they still remain in the Central State Historical Archive of the Lithuanian SSR in Vilnius.

ial Public Library in St. Petersburg, were returned to Poland in the 1920s, and were subsequently lost in World War II.[144]

Ptaszycki himself recognized the miscellaneous contents of the series designated "Books of Public Affairs," but he simply repeated the listings of the St. Petersburg arrangement.[145] Obviously none of the first ten books in the Ptaszycki section belongs in a group of chancery "Books of Public Affairs."[146] For example, the second volume listed Ptaszycki himself labeled a foreign legation book relating to Ukrainian lands, with entries from 1538 to 1542.[147] The third is a register comprising copies and original charters relating to the Riga bishopric and Livonia, a collection that was brought together sometime after 1561, when that region came under the sovereignty of the Grand Duchy.[148] The eleventh, a vice-chancery inscription book from the years 1699–1710, is also obviously out of place.[149] One stray volume in the Ptaszycki series (no. 28), containing inscriptions from the years 1509–1544, belongs with the sixteenth-century inscription books of the Lithuanian Metrica, its return to AGAD notwithstanding.[150]

Further study must determine which of the remaining late eighteenth-century volumes in that section comprise a separate group that should be designated "Books of Public Affairs," and whether other volumes should be grouped with them. Approximately 18 or 19 vol-

[144] Two similar volumes from the eighteenth century (1744) were described by Korzeniowski, *Zapiski z rękopisów,* nos. 289 (F.IV.37) and 296 (F.IV.59); they were destroyed in 1944, after they had been revindicated to Warsaw.

[145] See Ptaszycki's notes about this series (*Opisanie,* pp. 35–39). He realized that some volumes had been placed in this series because they did not fit into others (p. 39).

[146] TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 523–532.

[147] TsGADA, fond 389, no. 524. The volume is published as *Litovskaia metrika,* divisions 1 and 2, pt. 3: *Knigi publichnykh del,* vol. 1, ed. I. I. Lappo, in *RIB,* vol. 30, cols. 1–98.

[148] TsGADA, fond 389, no. 525. This third book was omitted from the St. Petersburg published volume with the texts of other early books in this group, since it was recognized as not belonging in the series. *Litovskaia metrika,* divisions 1 and 2, pt. 3: *Knigi publichnykh del,* vol. 1, *RIB,* vol. 30. Other books published were: TsGADA, fond 389, no. 526 (Ptaszycki III.A.4 — 1544–1559), cols. 89–298; no. 527 (III.A.5 — 1544–1569), cols. 299–538; no. 528 (III.A.6 — 1557–1567), cols. 539–628; and no. 529 (III.A.7 — 1559–1563), cols. 620–896.

[149] TsGADA, fond 389, no. 533.

[150] AGAD, TzwML III.A.28. Its entries date predominantly from the reign of Queen Bona, but some inscriptions go back to 1509–1544. It had been listed with the Crown Metrica in the 1798 inventory (A–7.118), with indication that it had come from the Cracow Crown Archive and was brought to Warsaw in 1765. It was restored to its rightful provenance with the Lithuanian Metrica in St. Petersburg, although it should have been included in the inscription book series, rather than with public affairs (see fn. 83).

umes out of the 37 in the Ptaszycki section (nos. 18–27 and 29–37) together form a consecutive series of inscriptions of privileges from the years 1773–1794.[151] However, the titles of many of these volumes are no different from many of the eighteenth-century books listed in the earlier section of books of inscriptions with the dates 1697–1775.[152] The resolution of this issue could affect some volumes in the series "Books of Inscriptions," as well as those now found under "Books of Public Affairs."

Of the remaining volumes listed as "Books of Public Affairs," six appear to be part of the records of the Lithuanian General Confederation for the years 1764, 1767, and 1773–1775.[153] Several are labeled as court records and hence might better be grouped with the section for judicial records.[154] Other records listed as pertaining to the General Confederation and courts under its auspices apparently remain in Vilnius.[155]

Indeed, many of the books in this section require further analysis of their provenance, contents, and appropriate series grouping. It is apparent that many of them are not "Books of Public Affairs" (or "Chancellor's Books") and hence would be better placed elsewhere in a scholarly inventory of the Lithuanian Metrica. Many are miscellaneous volumes which should be so designated. Others are really parts of record groups still held in Vilnius or in other archives, but since they have long been stored and inventoried as part of the larger Metrica complex, full account of them will have to be given in a complete inventory.

151 TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 540–549, and 550–558. An additional volume of miscellaneous Lithuanian vice-chancery inscriptions from the years 1775–1792 is now in AGAD (ML 220), but had been listed as no. 28 in the section for Lithuanian "Books of Public Affairs" in the 1798 St. Petersburg inventory (see fn. 79).

152 The volumes which from their titles are probably most contingent to those in the present "Books of Inscriptions" would be TsGADA nos. 148, 155–160, and 162–190, from the years 1697 through 1775. More study is necessary to determine if there is a distinction between those books entitled "Akta metryki kancellaryi" and "Xięga metryki kancellaryi." As it is now, several intervening volumes appear of a different character. All of the volumes are arranged in rough chronological order within the inscription series, but there may well be appropriate subseries or other distinctions, such as those from the main and the vice-chancery, that should be made.

153 TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 534–539.

154 TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 534, 535, and possibly 536. See the contiguous volumes for courts of the General Confederation in Ptaszycki's section for judicial affairs, and the further discussion of those volumes below.

155 For example, records for the years 1792–1793 are listed in the prerevolutionary inventories by Gorbachevskii, *Katalog,* p. 195, and, with more detail, in Sprogis, *Inwentarz,* pp. 214–16.

d. *Lithuanian Legation Books*

From the beginning of the sixteenth century, we have a series of books clearly distinguishable as containing copies of reports and proceedings of foreign legations of the Grand Duchy. Many of the inscription books from the same period also have entries relating to foreign legations. Parts of some of the earliest volumes may well have been separate legation books or fragments thereof at one time, as Berezhkov emphasizes, or they may represent merely selected documentation from legations which was copied into the main inscription books.[156] In any case, as Berezhkov carefully lists, there were already many distinctive reports of the Grand Duchy's foreign legations in the books prior to 1522.[157] Most of these legations were to Muscovy or other regions in the east, such as the Crimea.[158] As mentioned earlier, there is also one small book from a legation to the Ukrainian lands in the years 1538–1542.[159]

As we already know, after 1569 foreign legations from the Grand Duchy went only to Muscovy, because foreign relations with other countries were handled by the Crown chancery.[160] Copies of documents relating to foreign relations were then usually kept in separate registers, although often some were also copied into the main inscription books. However, we have no indication of Lithuanian legation books dating from later than the seventeenth century.

[156] See, for example, TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 223. No. 223 (Ptaszycki II.A.3 — 1510–1534) is definitely an amalgam of several separate books, several of which contain registers of legations. It is published in *Litovskaia metrika,* vol. 1, ed. P. A. Gil'tebrand and [S. A. Bershadskii] in *RIB,* vol. 20 (St. Petersburg, 1903), cols. 1201–1566. Most of no. 5 is also published in *Litovskaia metrika,* division 1, pt. 1: *Kniga zapisei,* vol. 1, ed. I. I. Lappo, in *RIB,* vol. 27, cols. 509–872, along with the previous two inscription books extant in Moscow (nos. 3 and 4). Detailed summaries of the rest of no. 5 and of nos. 6, 7 and 8 are published in *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag MAMIu,* vol. 21. Eighteenth-century transcriptions of all of these volumes are available in AGAD. See Berezhkov's analysis and charts, in *Litovskaia metrika,* especially pp. 116–39.

[157] See the list of books and fragments relating to foreign relations provided by Berezhkov, *Litovskaia metrika,* pp. 146–49. Berezhkov helpfully adds references to published versions.

[158] For references to relations with the Crimean Tartars, see M. D. Dovnar-Zapol'skii, "Zametka o krymskikh delakh v Metrike litovskoi," *Izvestiia Tavricheskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii* 26 (1897): 11–23.

[159] TsGADA, fond 389, no. 524 (see fn. 147).

[160] For legation books of the Crown Metrica, see the analysis by Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa and Janina Wejchertowa, "Księgi poselskie (Libri Legationum) Metryki Koronnej," *Archeion* 58 (1968): 61–73, and the published inventory of volumes extant in AGAD, *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej,* pp. 147–64. Detailed indexes for many of these are available in AGAD.

There are now fifteen volumes in the fond of the Lithuanian Metrica in TsGADA that were transferred there from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where they had been held since the early nineteenth century.[161] Only seven of them, however, were listed in the 1843 inventory in St. Petersburg.[162] Of these seven, three sixteenth-century volumes are definitely not Lithuanian legation books, but are rather of Muscovite origin. They are actually envoys' registers (*stateinye spiski*), or extracts from the Ambassadorial Prikaz (*Posol'skii prikaz*), which were taken as booty during the Polish invasion of Muscovy in 1612 and subsequently stored with the Lithuanian Metrica.[163] Their place in the sixteenth-century Muscovite state archive has been established in a recent reconstruction.[164] Of the other four volumes, the earliest, dating from the years 1506–1507, was published in 1838.[165] Two later sixteenth-century legation books were also published, for the years 1545–1582 and 1581–1583.[166] The last unpub-

161 See above, fn. 48. They were reunited with the rest of the Lithuanian Metrica books only just before the Second World War, and hence they are not mentioned in the Ptaszycki inventory. The title of the current inventory covering the fifteen volumes is cited in fn. 91.

162 See *Kniga posol'stva VKL,* 1: 437–39 (see fn. 48). The present TsGADA numbers in fond 389 are followed by designations from the 1843 Obolenskii published inventory in parentheses: 587 (Ob I), 588 (Ob II), 590 (Ob III), 591 (Ob IV), 592 (Ob V), 593 (Ob VI), and 595 (Ob VII).

163 TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 587 (1488–1572), 588 (1517–1533), and 590 (1534–1538). The first contains contemporary notes from various registers. See *Kniga posol'skaia Metriki VKL,* 1: xiii–xiv and 437–39. See also N. B. Shelamanova, "Sostav dokumentov Posol'skogo prikaza i ikh znachenie dlia istoricheskoi geografii Rossii XVI veka. (Po materialam fonda Snosheníi Rossii s Pol'shei TsGADA)," *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik za 1964 god,* p. 52, fn. 40, and p. 55, fn. 50. Two of the three books were published in the nineteenth century in *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii drevnei Rossii s derzhavami inostrannymi,* ed. G. F. Karpov, in *SIRIO* 35 (1882): 500–868 (TsGADA, no. 588), and *SIRIO* 59 (1887): 1–143 (TsGADA, no. 590). In the eighteenth-century arrangement of the Lithuanian Metrica, they were mentioned in a miscellaneous group and had the earlier Warsaw numbers 305 (309), 308(?), and 306 (310). They were not included in the 1623 inventory.

164 See A. A. Zimin, *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossii XVI stoletiia: Opyt rekonstruktsii,* 3 vols. (Moscow 1978), 1: 134 and 136, and 2: 297.

165 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 595 (1506–1507) was published under the editorship of M. Obolenskii, *Sbornik kniazia Obolenskogo,* no. 1 (Moscow, 1838). It had not been identified with the Lithuanian Metrica complex in the eighteenth-century Warsaw charts, and had not appeared in the 1623 list. It is listed by Berezhkov, *Litovskaia metrika,* pp. 103 and 148 (29).

166 TsGADA, no. 591 (1545–1582) was published under the editorship of I. Danilowicz (I. Danilovich) and M. Obolenskii, *Kniga posol'skaia Metriki VKL,* 1/8: 1–320. It had the Warsaw no. 57 and is also available in AGAD in an eighteenth-century transcription (ML 215). TsGADA, no. 592 (1581–1583) is included

lished legation book of the seven has entries for the years 1581–1605.[167]

The past history and exact provenance of the remaining eight volumes from the Foreign Ministry Archive is more difficult to establish, since only two (and, questionably, three others in passing) can be identified in the Warsaw inventories of the Lithuanian Metrica. In an article published in 1888, the Polish historian Antoni Prochaska mentioned thirteen volumes of foreign legation books from the Lithuanian Metrica held in the Moscow Foreign Ministry Archive (MGAMID).[168] Correlations with the MGAMID numbers are possible in the TsGADA list, but an earlier inventory from MGAMID has not been found.[169] Of the two volumes lacking MGAMID numbers, the one dating from 1774–1776 definitely does not belong with the Lithuanian Metrica registers, but is rather of Polish origin.[170]

The earliest original Lithuanian volume among the fifteen (in a late sixteenth-century copy) is not technically a legation book, but rather an account book recording expenses for presents to the Crimean khan Mengli-Giray, together with related documents from the years 1502–1509.[171] It was not housed with the Lithuanian Metrica in Warsaw, but it is the type of account register that might have been kept with other chancery records before separate ones for the treasury were established.[172] It resembles similar types of account records kept by the Crown. One other register dating from the sixteenth century (1585–

in ibid., 2: 2–285. It was listed with the Warsaw no. 147 and was mentioned by title in the Warsaw summaries.

167 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 593. It bears the Warsaw no. 148 and, like the others listed in the Warsaw charts, was mentioned by title only in the Warsaw summaries.

168 Antoni Prochaska, "Archiwum Królestwa w Moskwie," *Ateneum* 3 (1888): 359.

169 See *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw*, appendix 1. Further efforts should be made in Moscow to find an earlier inventory from MGAMID covering these books or more detailed notes that might have been kept in the MGAMID records about the Lithuanian books held there.

170 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 601 (see fn. 93).

171 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 589. It was published before the Revolution under the title of "Skarbovaia kniga," with an introduction by M. D. Dovnar-Zapol'skii, "Litovskii upomniki tatarskim ordam," in *Izvestiia Tavricheskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii* 28 (1898): 1–81.

172 Berezhkov does not fully describe the manuscript, but affirms that it is a later copy (*Litovskaia metrika*, p. 116, p. 146 [no. 20]) and that it had been held in MGAMID under the number 12; however, he does not list it with other legation books. Dovnar-Zapol'skii in his introduction, "Litovskii upomniki" (p. 2), describes the Polish markings on the initial page, which could mean that it had been kept with account records from Polish Crown legations in the Cracow Treasury Archive. See his earlier mention of the volume in "Zametka o krymskikh delakh," pp. 20–23.

1600) was listed as a legation book in the eighteenth-century summaries.[173]

Three of the volumes dating from the seventeenth century were counted among miscellaneous volumes in the eighteenth-century Warsaw inventories and were mentioned in passing as containing miscellaneous documents of Muscovite origin or relating to Muscovy.[174] These volumes should be compared with other extant volumes in Poland from the same period to determine if they are technically Lithuanian legation books. One volume from 1681 has been described as a legation book, although it was counted as a volume from the vice-chancery in the Warsaw summaries.[175] Another volume that was not counted with the Lithuanian collection in MGAMID remains of questionable provenance.[176] Other contiguous volumes in TsGADA from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well as other fragments from that period also require study and precise description.[177]

Recently five additional seventeenth-century volumes of Lithuanian chancery provenance have been identified as belonging to the series of Lithuanian legation books, although they were always kept separate from the Metrica complex. They date from the chancery activity of Cyprian Paweł Brzostowski (d. 1688), and are now held as part of his family collection in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow.[178] Several other

173 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 594 (MGAMID no. 12). It has also been listed in the 1623 list, but did not appear in the 1843 published Obolenskii inventory.

174 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 596 (MGAMID no. 9) (1608–1668); no. 597 (MGAMID no. 10) (1644–1645); 598 (MGAMID no. 11) (1637–1657). It is impossible to make an exact correlation with the Warsaw numbers, and I did not have a chance to examine the bindings to see if any Warsaw numbers remain affixed. The earliest Warsaw number, 311, may well have applied to all three volumes; in the subsequent Warsaw numeration, they probably would have had the numbers 315, 316, and 317.

175 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 599 (MGAMID no. 13); Warsaw no. PPP.

176 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 600. In the brief TsGADA inventory it is listed as a register book with documents from 1688 to 1698, including charters of petition of Ivan, Peter, and Sofia Alekseevna, and circulars of Hetman Mazepa to the Zaporozhian host of Ivan Vasylevych Lomykovs'kyi regarding lands, mills, etc. I have not been able to examine the book or discuss its provenance with specialists in Moscow.

177 TsGADA, fond 389, opis' 2, nos. 602 through 662, mentioned in a separate list in TsGADA, are reportedly fragments of a previous bound volume with documents starting in the 1550s, but it has not been possible to examine these items. From earlier inventory listings, it would appear that some of the contingent volumes may well be collections of notes and documents, and thus may comprise miscellaneous "chancery papers" rather than technical legation registers.

178 Czartoryski Library, Cracow, MS nos. 2101, 2103, 2104, 2112, and 2113. (See above fn. 87). Contingent volumes of chancery papers include MS nos. 386, 387, 2102, 2105–2111, and 2114. An analysis of this group, and the contiguous nine to

contiguous volumes originally from the Brzostowski collection now in other collections in Poland also deserve attention. Several held in the Krasiński Library, which were described as Lithuanian legation books from the seventeenth century, were lost during the Second World War.[179]

Further study may help determine exactly how many books extant today should be considered actual legation books from the Lithuanian chancery. One of the most important aspects of this work will be to examine and compare those books recently identified in Poland with the contiguous books extant in Moscow. What will emerge, too, is the larger problem of establishing standards and procedures for the identification of books technically part of the Lithuanian Metrica.[180] It will be important to consider contiguous books of working chancery papers containing drafts, letters, and original documents. These are obviously not Metrica registers in the strict sense of official inscription books, and hence they cannot be considered formal legation books kept by the Lithuanian chancery. However, because of their historical importance, their specifications and locations should be noted where possible in a complete inventory.

e. *Books of Judicial Proceedings*

As already noted, from the beginning of the sixteenth-century many separate books were being kept for judicial affairs, as distinct from the general books of inscriptions.[181] In the course of the sixteenth century, and especially by the beginning of the seventeenth century, further distinctions were being made between books for different types of courts and even within different court records for specific types of

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twelve miscellaneous books of related chancery papers that are held as part of the same collection, will form the basis for a separate study, undertaken in collaboration with Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa.

179 See Franciszek Pułaski, *Opis 815 rękopisów Biblioteki Ordynacji hr. Krasińskich* (Warsaw, 1915), pp. 480–511: nos. 319 (344), 320 (435), 322 (346), and 326 (347), for a detailed description of four volumes considered original legation books, all of which perished in 1944. Four other volumes containing chancery papers (including original correspondence, drafts of treaties, etc.) that were housed with the legation books perished with them — Puławski nos. 321 (343), 323 (280), 324 (3099), and 325 (278).

180 Further analysis is required of the nature of entries included in formal metrica legation registers, as part of an analysis of the chancery practices in regard to the retention of legation books in the Grand Duchy.

181 See the discussion above. See also Berezhkov's list of pre-1522 books and fragments relating specifically to judicial affairs, *Litovskaia metrika*, pp. 144–45.

documentation. Thus several natural groupings of judicial registers, kept according to a particular court or appellate function, can be distinguished. Only those books that record documentation from judicial functions or courts actually presided over by the chancellor or vice-chancellor, or appellate judicial decisions emanating from the office of the Grand Duke, should be considered technically part of the Lithuanian Metrica. Of course, over the three centuries covered by the extant records, courts and legal functions changed considerably, so that correlation must be made with the judicial institutions and procedures in effect at a particular time.

In mentioning some of these problems, Ptaszycki pointed out certain groupings of judicial books found among the Lithuanian Metrica collection in St. Petersburg. In fact, he distinguished twelve different types of books in the section for specifically Lithuanian judicial registers (section II.A).[182]

The problems become more complicated because, in the case of judicial books especially, as Ptaszycki noted, some volumes have no relation to the chancery of the Grand Duke. For example, at least 27 volumes from the sixteenth century now among the books of the Lithuanian Metrica have their provenance in courts that were distinct from the Grand Ducal chancery. Interspersed among the books of judicial affairs, with a few among the books of inscriptions, are 24 books that form a consecutive series of records from the Vilnius castle court (*grodskii sud*), dating from the years 1542 through 1566.[183] The remaining extant records of the Vilnius castle court are now in the Central State Historical Archive of the Lithuanian SSR in Vilnius, but registers from those years are missing.[184] There are also several scat-

182 Ptaszycki, *Opisanie,* pp. 28–35. Although informative, his notes do not pursue the matter far enough.

183 Their provenance and original order require further verification. On the basis of data available now, the series can be identified with the current TsGADA numbers, in chronological order (1542–1566) — fond 389, nos. 230, 233–34, 235 (part), 237–38, 240–46, 34, 40, 247, 250, 252–53, 255–56, 259–60, and 262. This court was frequently referred to as the Vilnius *zamkovyi sud.* Several of these volumes appear to be from the Vilnius *zemskii,* rather than *grodskii, sud.*

184 No up-to-date inventory of the early section of this archive is available in print, but see the detailed prerevolutionary listings for the former Vilnius Archive of Early Record Books by Gorbachevskii, *Katalog,* pp. 143–66, and Sprogis, *Inwentarz,* pp. 158–76. According to data furnished me by the archival administration, a few scattered sixteenth-century records of this court, starting with the years 1555, are extant. The fond is not listed, however, in the published list of judicial records of Lithuanian state archives, *Lietuvos TSR valstybiniu archyvu fondu trumpas žnynas,* vol. 7: *Justicija* (Vilnius, 1978). There the records of the Vilnius court

tered volumes with records from local courts, in Vitebsk, Polotsk, Brest, Kobrin, and so forth.[185] None of these local court records are originals, however, since they were copied with the rest of the Lithuanian Metrica at the end of the sixteenth century.

Many of these volumes not originating in the Lithuanian chancery were grouped in a separate section in the 1623 inventory of the Lithuanian Metrica, indicating that they were not then considered an integral part of the chancery records.[186] Obviously, these should form a separate group in any new inventory, with notation of their relationship to contiguous records extant in other archives, most specifically the historical archives in Vilnius and Minsk.

One natural subgroup of legal registers technically part of the Lithuanian Metrica should comprise the volumes of appellate judicial decrees from the Grand Ducal chancery pertaining to the area of Podlachia (Polish, Podlasie) in the sixteenth century. The region was then part of the Grand Duchy, although it came under Crown sovereignty following the Union of Lublin in 1569, and since 1918 has again been part of Poland. During the early sixteenth century, courts in the Podlachia region were conducted in Latin in the Polish tradition, and hence those record books were retained separately from other appellate judicial records of the Grand Duchy, then kept predominantly in chancery Belorussian. Because jurisdiction over the region shifted, these appellate court record books have had a complicated migration. They were apparently never stored, or even subsequently recognized, as a contiguous series, except for the seven volumes listed in the 1623

(*zemskii sud*) are identified as fond 946, with holdings starting in the year 1591 (ibid., pp. 29–31).

185 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 16 (Ptaszycki I.A.16) for the years 1530–1538 is from the Vitebsk castle court and also from Polotsk, since Jan Wołłowicz was first *voevoda* of Vitebsk and then Polotsk. No. 228 (Ptaszycki II.A.9) is a register from the Vitebsk castle court for the years 1533–1540. No. 271 (Ptaszycki II.A.57) is a court record book covering the years 1569–1579 with entries from the local courts in Brest and Kobrin, kept by Ostafi Wołłowicz, who was then serving as vice-chancellor. Other extant records of these local courts are now held in the Central State Historical Archives of the Belorussian SSR in Minsk. A new inventory or analysis with tables correlating the current arrangement with the records listed by Gorbachevskii and Sprogis (when the extant records were all in Vilnius) has yet to be published, but deserves high priority.

186 They were listed in the section entitled *księgi wojewódzkie* (see above, fn. 33), which included 24 volumes, but the total number of local court records in the Metrica corpus would now be somewhat higher.

inventory[187] and the five listed by Wierzbowski in 1912.[188] It is nevertheless possible, and in an ideal inventory becomes necessary, to recognize a distinct, cohesive, and sequential subgroup of at least twelve original volumes of appellate court records pertaining to Podlachia during the years 1538 through 1571. After that time, appellate legal decreees pertaining to the area were reintegrated with records of other Crown lands, which may explain why to this day some of the earlier books are stored with the Crown Metrica whereas others are scattered within the Lithuanian Metrica complex. All are original volumes from their period, and, unlike the rest of the Lithuanian Metrica, were not recopied during the years 1598–1607.

Of the twelve known volumes devoted entirely to Podlachia, the full texts of seven (only three in the original) and the summary of an eighth are extant today. The four earliest, from the years 1538–1546, were turned over to Prussia in 1799 and subsequently returned to Warsaw. It is fortunate that they were transcribed in Warsaw in the 1770s, because the originals were lost in Warsaw in 1944 along with a fifth volume returned to Warsaw in 1827.[189] Two contiguous volumes covering the years 1546–1550 remain in Moscow with the Lithuanian Metrica complex in the TsGADA.[190]

The volumes from the 1550s and 1560s, with one exception, had apparently been turned over to the Crown Metrica early on, because in

[187] The dates given for the seven volumes in "Regestr xiąg Metryki W.X.L." (fols. 103v–104v) do not correspond exactly with all the dates covered by the volumes, but six of them can be matched with those held with the Lithuanian Metrica in Warsaw in the eighteenth century and in the St. Petersburg inventory of 1798. The seventh book listed (1558) either became attached later to the fourth volume (1554–1558), or else it could have been the starting date for the subsequent volume (1558–1562), which later became housed with the Crown Metrica.

[188] See fns. 189, 191, and 192.

[189] All five were returned to Warsaw from St. Petersburg in the early nineteenth century, the first four by way of Prussia, the fifth in 1827:

Dates	*18th c. Warsaw nos.*	*missing Ptaszycki nos.*	*1912 Wierzbowski nos.*	*extant 18th c. copies in AGAD*
1538–1541	35	II.A.13	VIII.1	ML 207
1541-1542	42	II.A.14	VIII.2	ML 210
1542–1544	55	II.A.15	VIII.3	ML 214
1545–1546	58	II.A.16	VIII.4	ML 216
1555–1558	79	II.A.32	VIII.5	—

For the 1555–1558 volume, there are summaries available in AGAD (SumML 3, fols. 244–265v; APP 18, pp. 633–80), but no transcription.

[190] Ptaszycki's II.A.17 (TsGADA no. 232, Warsaw no. 47) for the years 1546–1547 and II.A.21 (TsGADA no. 236, Warsaw no. 64) for the years 1547–1550.

the seventeenth century they were already listed as part of the Crown registers. The earliest of these (1550–1552) is today erroneously listed among the Crown inscription books in the published inventory of the Crown Metrica, apparently because it had been so listed since the seventeenth-century Hankiewicz inventory.[191] Four other volumes, from the years 1552–1554 and 1558–1571, which had been listed as Crown judicial decree books since the seventeenth century, perished with many other volumes from that series in 1944.[192] The intervening volume (1555–1558), earlier listed with the Lithuanian Metrica but returned to Warsaw in 1827, also perished, but an eighteenth-century summary is preserved in AGAD.[193]

Other judicial books in the Metrica complex all need to be studied much more thoroughly and grouped together according to their appropriate court functions. Several groups of different court records should be dinstinguished one from another in a way that reflects changes in functions and competency in different periods. Once again the analysis will be complicated by the haphazardness with which volumes were bound at various points and mixed up with other court records. One major group of court records in the Metrica complex can serve here as an example of the problems involved.

The most important series of court records in the Crown Metrica are those of the Assessors' Court (*Sąd Asesorski*) and the Senators' Court (*Sąd Relacyjny*), which started at the end of the sixteenth century.[194] A similar Assessors' Court functioned in the Grand Duchy, from which records remain extant beginning in the early seventeenth century. However, the books themselves have many lacunae and are not now

191 The volume listed among the Crown inscription books (MK 81) for the years 1550–1552 was also so listed by Ptaszycki (I.B.31). In the 1670s it was listed in the section for inscription books by Hankiewicz in "Inwentarz" (ZP 64). It remains in AGAD as TzwML I.B.31.

192 They were listed by Hankiewicz as, respectively, F.6 (1552–1554), I.9 (1558–1562), N.13 (1563–1568), and R.17 (1568–1571); those code numbers were repeated in the 1798 St. Petersburg inventory in section A-2, where they were given the new numbers 10, 13, 17, and 21. In the 1912 Warsaw inventory by Wierzbowski, they are listed in section V, nos. 10, 13, 17, and 21, although Wierzbowski had a separate section — VIII — for the other five Podlachia volumes returned from St. Petersburg (see fn. 189).

193 Volume 32 was also missing from Ptaszycki's section for Lithuanian judicial books [II.A.32], but it was returned to Warsaw (see fn. 189). Presumably it is the volume listed in the 1835 Bentkowski inventory (p. 28) in the section for the Lithuanian Metrica (IV.220B).

194 See the description of this series in *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej*, pp. 249–312. Many of these Crown records were lost during the Second World War.

arranged in their natural order. For instance, many late seventeenth-century legal records and groups of protocols from the Assessors' Court, transported from Vilnius, were bound together indiscriminately in Warsaw in 1747, along with other judicial documentation. It will now be extremely difficult to reconstruct the original order of these records, since no adequate inventories are available.[195]

The records of this principal high court of the Grand Duchy were kept much more systematically in the eighteenth century. Their forms and initial organization can now be determined from a short inventory of record books for the period 1746 through 1775–1776 found among the notebooks of Naruszewicz in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow.[196] The register was prepared by the *pisarz* or official in charge of court records, Jan Jeleński, in 1784, when these court records were prepared for "transfer to the Metrica of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania."[197]

Jeleński's inventory indicates the natural order and careful organization of the court records for these years in the chancery of the Grand Duchy. Books were arranged chronologically in distinct groups for "acts and decrees," "protocols," and "court registers," as well as several smaller groups of *varia*. These groups, however, were completely lost when the court records were amalgamated with the rest of the Metrica complex in Warsaw. Despite the brevity of the descriptions, it has been possible to correlate most of the volumes listed in

[195] For example, TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 385–386, 395, 455–466 and 502–522 (Ptaszycki nos. II.B. 171–172, 181, 241–252, and 288–308). Ptaszycki himself mentions that these were brought together and bound into volumes in 1747, some containing booklets, fragments, and miscellaneous documents which apparently had never been bound before. Some of these volumes — particularly those containing protocols — were not included in the main chronological framework in the Warsaw inventories of the 1740s. Since they were listed later in a miscellaneous section, many were also not included in the eighteenth-century summaries. With more knowledge of court record-keeping procedures for the eighteenth century, however, efforts should be made to reconstruct the natural order and series for these records.

[196] Teki Naruszewicza, Czartoryski Library, Cracow, MS 857, pp. 5–8.

[197] "Regestr oddanych przezemnie Jana Jeleńskiego Pisarza Dekretowego Litto, sędziego Ziem. Mozyr. wszytkich aktów sądowych w Kancellaryi Dekretowey Assessoryi W. X. L. za Pisarstwa nayprzod JWWch Rafała, poźniey Gedeona Jeleńskich kasztellanów Nowogr. expedyowanych do Metryk W. X. L. W. Felixowi Szubertowi Metrykantowi Lit. w R-u 1784 Maja 7 Dnia na Dwie Ręce sporządzony, barwiany, z których ieden z Podpisem W. Metrykanta Lit. zaświadczaiący odebranie mnie wydany, Drugi przytych ze aktach W. Metrykantowi podpisem Ręki moiey roboruię. Datt w. Warszawie,—."

Jeleński's inventory with the scrambled listings in the Ptaszycki inventory,[198] and to establish that all of the separate books of "decrees" and "protocols" listed by Jeleński are now extant in the Metrica complex in Moscow, together with most of the "court registers" through the year 1762. Later registers (1763–1776) listed by Jeleński found their way to the former Vilnius Central Archive of Early Register Books, according to the prerevolutionary inventory.[199] Later books of decrees, protocols, and registers of this court from the sessions in 1775–1776 to 1795 were also stored in the same archive in Vilnius, according to the prerevolutionary inventory.

In the Vilnius archive the records retained their natural order, with separate groups for "decrees," "protocols," and "registers" similar to the groupings in the Jeleński inventory, in contrast to the helter-skelter arrangement of the records from this court that were amalgamated with the rest of the Lithuanian Metrica complex.

The Vilnius inventory further reveals the highly sophisticated system of registers, which actually provided separate subject-matter lists for eight principal types of decrees issued by the Assessors' Court.[200] Lists of these registers were transmitted periodically to the Permanent Council of the Commonwealth, so confirmation of these subject-matter series can be found in the extant annexes to the protocols of the Permanent Council.[201]

Unquestionably all of the records from this court belong officially to the Lithuanian Metrica, just as the series of corresponding Crown court records are part of the Crown Metrica. Hence, in an ideal inventory, the records should be arranged in series according to their

[198] The complete text has been prepared by Maria Woźniakowa of AGAD, for publication as an appendix to my forthcoming article in *Archeion,* with marginal correlations to the Ptaszycki inventory. Volumes in the Jeleński list include those with the current TsGADA nos. 409–413, 415–22, 424?, 425–27, 429, 430–31?, 432–36, 468, 470–73, 475–83, 488?, and 495, although some correlations remain questionable.

[199] See the somewhat more detailed, revised arrangement in Sprogis, *Inwentarz,* pp. 79–88. Presumably they are now in the successor Central State Historical Archive of the Lithuanian SSR in Vilnius in a record group (fond) devoted to records of that court, but I have been unable to establish precise data about the present holdings and their current arrangement.

[200] See Sprogis, *Inwentarz,* pp. 82–88.

[201] Lists of these registers in the form of reports have been found recently among the annexes to the protocols of the Permanent Council. For example, the same eight registers are listed (with the appropriate number of decrees given in each case) in a report covering court sessions for the period November 1783 to April 1784 (AGAD, TzwML VII.95, fols. 224–225v), and for the period November 1786 to April 1787 (AGAD, TzwML VII.100, fols. 84–85v).

original natural order, with full identification and detailed description of the contiguous records from the court that now remain in Vilnius.

A similar analysis should be made for groups of records from other courts now found as part of the Lithuanian Metrica complex. Some of these should be considered technically part of the Lithuanian Metrica, but others should not. The resolution of such problems must await description of individual volumes, further analysis of court functions in the Grand Duchy, and descriptions of contiguous groups of records now extant in Vilnius and elsewhere. But from the examples discussed thus far, for the Vilnius castle court, the Podlachia series, and the Assessors' Court, it is evident that much more analysis and descriptive work lies ahead in the preparation of a scholarly, ideal inventory of the judicial records from the Grand Duchy.

f. *Books of Revisions, or Land Survey Books*

The only other section in the Ptaszycki inventory covering parts of the Lithuanian Metrica is that of Books of Revisions or Land Survey Books (*knigi perepisei*), which in earlier inventories were sometimes called "Books of Inventories of Royal Estates and Frontiers."[202] A comparable series was maintained in the Crown Metrica from the seventeenth century. Indeed, of the three of each such land survey books that were prepared, one was explicitly designated for the chancery and officially considered part of the Crown Metrica.[203] However, not all the books listed in Ptaszycki's section IV.B for the Crown records belong to this series.[204] Presumably a similar procedure was followed for the Lithuanian surveys. Although these books are thus not really registers of chancery documents, a copy of each was traditionally stored with the Lithuanian Metrica complex, and hence they should be included in an inventory of the Metrica. Those volumes that really are surveys or descriptions of royal estates or frontiers, and

202 TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 558–582; Ptaszycki nos. IV.A.1, IV.A.3–24. The second volume originally in this section, describing boundaries between the Grand Duchy and the Crown, is missing from this section since it was transferred to Prussia in 1799, and destroyed in Warsaw during World War II (see fn. 80); an eighteenth-century copy remains in AGAD (ML 212, pp. 593–738).

203 See Jerzy Senkowski, "Lustracje, rewizje oraz inwentarze dóbr królewskich," in *AGAD: Przewodnik,* pp. 97–102.

204 The volumes listed in the Polish part of this section remain in AGAD today, exactly according to Ptaszycki's arrangement (section IV.B) although not all of them belong to the same series. Other volumes in this series now in AGAD retain their arrangement according to the 1912 Wierzbowski inventory and other finding aids. See *AGAD: Przewodnik,* pp. 97–108. As already mentioned, no such series is included in the 1975 published inventory of the Crown Metrica (see fn. 72).

hence are correctly grouped in this category, definitely constitute a separate series and should be so listed. However, as is the case with the Crown subsection, not all of the books grouped in section IV.A belong under the assigned heading.

In regard to the Lithuanian volumes covered by Ptaszycki, several of the earliest were included in the 1623 inventory and subsequently with the Lithuanian Metrica in the eighteenth-century Warsaw inventories and summaries. Since they have long constituted a part of the Metrica complex, they will need to be accounted for in a complete inventory, although many of the volumes listed in this section are neither surveys nor descriptions of estates or frontiers. The latter should be described in the context of their original provenance and inventoried (or at least cross-listed) with the groups of records to which they belong.

The diversity of this section is immediately apparent. Several miscellaneous volumes do not relate at all to the others in this section. For example, number 10 is described as a volume of privileges relating to customs duties and tariffs in the years 1567–1571, and so might belong in a group of treasury records, or perhaps should be listed among Books of Inscriptions.[205] Number 13 is apparently a book of notes and excerpts from the judicial records of several Lithuanian towns and also of the Lithuanian High Tribunal from the years 1656–1688.[206] It certainly does not belong in this series. Number 14 is a composite codex containing various drafts and papers that should probably be considered a miscellaneous volume of chancery papers, rather than a formal Metrica register.[207] In the eighteenth-century Warsaw inventories many of these volumes were not listed in the initial basic chronological sequence of chancery registers, so apparently even then they were recognized to be of miscellaneous origin. Presumably a similar treatment for them will be appropriate in a new scholarly inventory, but first their individual provenance and, where necessary, codicological history requires careful study.

The preceding survey poses more questions than it answers regarding the appropriate organization and arrangement of the Lithuanian Metrica. Obviously, much more research, descriptive work, and analysis must be done before an inventory can be completed. It is most important that the task now begin, with the cooperation and direct

205 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 567.
206 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 570.
207 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 571.

collaboration of interested historians and archivists everywhere, especially in the Soviet Union and Poland. The joint goal should be to produce a full scholarly inventory of the Lithuanian Metrica — an "ideal inventory," in the definition of the Polish archivist Józef Siemieński.[208] It should encompass, on the basis of earlier inventories, all known books and copies of books of the Lithuanian Metrica, regardless of present location, including those known to have been lost or destroyed and those not now or previously inventoried with the Metrica complex.

A first step is the preparation of a detailed list of all known inventories and summaries of the Metrica complex, updating and expanding the preliminary one recently completed.[209] Cross references should be made to inventories already listed with the Crown Metrica complex for those that also cover parts of the Lithuanian Metrica. It is important that such a list of inventories be distinct from actual volumes of the Lithuanian Metrica itself, although this procedure was not always followed for the Crown Metrica inventories.[210]

It would also be helpful to list, perhaps in separate groups, inventories or registers of original documents or other records stored or otherwise associated with the Metrica complex in different periods. For example, mention should be made of the first two volumes now listed with the Lithuanian inscription books, which are actually two copies of an inventory or register of original charters and other incoming documents from 1386 to 1491 that were found in the Grand Ducal treasury in the 1570s.[211] Other archival inventories of this type were listed in Ptaszycki's section VIII, but since they pertained to Polish materials, all but two were returned to Warsaw in the 1920s. Another miscellaneous inventory — a register of major Livonian charters, from the years 1263 to 1561 — appears as number 3 in Ptaszycki's section III.A, although that section purportedly lists "Books of Public

208 Józef Siemieński, *Przewodnik po archiwach polskich*, pt. 1: *Archiwa dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1933), pp. 6–7. Siemieński's helpful study was also published simultaneously in a French edition, *Guide des archives de Pologne*, pt. 1: *Archives de la Pologne ancienne* (Warsaw, 1933).

209 See *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw*, appendix 3.

210 A number of the earlier inventories for parts of the Crown Metrica are listed in the 1975 inventory and numbered intermittently as part of the series of Crown Inscription Books (e.g., MK 213 and its three supplemental volumes MK 214–16).

211 The two copies of the late sixteenth-century inventory are listed by Ptaszycki as "knigi zapisei" nos. I.A.1 and I.A.2, with the current TsGADA nos. 1 and 2 in fond 389. See details about the published version and other copies in fn. 11, above.

Affairs."[212] The volume was probably prepared as a chancery aid after 1561, when parts of Livonia became joined to the Grand Duchy and the Polish Crown; it should not be considered a normal inscription book, however, and it certainly should not be listed with "Books of Public Affairs."

As a second step, a table should be created that relates all known books of the Lithuanian Metrica to their position and number in all previous inventories. Through careful analysis of the earlier inventories and summaries available in Warsaw, and with the help of a computer sorting routine at Harvard University, efforts have been made to correlate the current arrangement of the Lithuanian Metrica complex in TsGADA with the early seventeenth-century arrangement in Vilnius as reflected in the 1623 Radziwiłł list, with the eighteenth-century Warsaw organization, and with the 1887 Ptaszycki organization in St. Petersburg.[213] Further research and verification along this line lie ahead, with efforts to include the reorganization in St. Petersburg in 1798 and in the 1830s.[214]

As a third step, a technical manuscript description should be prepared for every known volume or copy of the Lithuanian Metrica and for related volumes in the Metrica complex. The descriptions should, where appropriate, identify bindings and watermarks (especially for the earliest books). For composite volumes they should identify separate books, fragments, or miscellaneous documents included, together with their codicological history. Previous foliation counts, code numbers, and descriptions from all earlier inventories, summaries, or known manuscript copies and published versions should be given. At the same time, the exact provenance of each volume now housed with the Metrica fond in TsGADA and in AGAD should be identified, with clear indication of volumes not technically chancery registers of the Grand Duchy.

A fourth step, partially simultaneous with the third, would involve regrouping books in series — and, where appropriate, subseries — according to both provenance and type of entry or chancery function.

212 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 525.

213 Preliminary results are published in *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw*, appendixes 4 and 5. A copy of the 1787 Warsaw inventory (see fn. 45) is still needed to verify the final Warsaw organization before the Metrica complex was transferred to St. Petersburg.

214 To complete this study, it will be necessary to compare the data compiled from extant inventories in Warsaw with other nineteenth-century inventories and summaries presumed to be still extant in Moscow or Leningrad.

Some such groupings might involve separate charts for precise correlation with existing archival locations or arrangements, because presumably the entire inventorying process cannot involve archival transfers or major rearrangements.[215]

Throughout the entire process the distinction must always be made between the "Lithuanian Metrica" as the complex of archival materials that happen to have been held together at various times under that name, and the "Lithuanian Metrica" as the permanent official register books for outgoing documentation from the chancery and vice-chancery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Throughout the process, we must always keep in mind the four major stages in organization and arrangement that the Lithuanian Metrica complex underwent since its inception in the mid-fifteenth century. The artificial St. Petersburg arrangement of the Lithuanian Metrica complex, represented in the Ptaszycki inventory, must be approached within that context, and its errors and drawbacks clearly recognized.

Almost a century ago, in 1887, when Ptaszycki prepared his inventory of the Lithuanian Metrica following the system established by the 1835 St. Petersburg commission, he recognized many of the problems involved in the organization and arrangement of the materials in the collection. Indeed, he spoke of his inventory as a temporary expedient to be used only until one more thorough and accurate could be prepared.[216] Other prerevolutionary historians involved with the study and publication of the Metrica volumes recognized the serious problems raised by the artificial St. Petersburg order. For example, P. A. Gil'tebrand[217] and I. I. Lappo[218] spoke of the tremendous discrepancy between it and the original, more natural, seventeenth-century order. They warned against the scattered, indiscriminate, or partial publication of Metrica documentation without the reorganization of the materials and the formulation of comprehensive overall plans. They, too, recognized the need for a detailed, scholarly inventory.

The current revival of interest in the Lithuanian Metrica and the

215 Since the St. Petersburg order, as perpetrated in the Ptaszycki inventory, has been used in scholarship and archival practice since the early nineteenth century, it is probably undesirable and indeed inadvisable to rearrange completely the Metrica fond in TsGADA.

216 Ptaszycki, *Opisanie,* pp. vi–vii.

217 P. A. Gil'tebrand, *RIB,* 20: iv–v.

218 I. I. Lappo, report at the 4/18 May 1906 meeting of the Imperial Archeographic Commission, *Letopis' zaniatii Imp. arkheograficheskoi komissii,* 19: 16–37.

plans for a collaborative publication program between the Academies of Sciences of the Soviet Union and Poland give us hope that a complete inventory will indeed be produced as an integral part of the project.[219] The preparation of an ideal, scholarly inventory that takes into account many of the problems raised in this essay should obviously be given the highest order of priority. The task is complicated and immense, but it is essential if the rich body of documentary records and source materials that constitute the Lithuanian Metrica are to be accessible for study of the fascinating but troubled history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

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219 See particularly the remarks regarding plans for an inventory in the report by V. T. Pashuto and A. L. Khoroshkevich, "Sovmestnaia publikatsiia sovetskikh i pol'skikh istorikov," *Voprosy istorii,* 1981, no. 2, pp. 158–60.

All the World's a *Vertep*: The Personification/Depersonification Complex in Gogol's *Soročinskaja jarmarka**

DANIEL RANCOUR-LAFERRIERE

One of the most successful descriptions of the Ukrainian countryside in all of Russian literature is the opening of Nikolaj Gogol's *Soročinskaja jarmarka*:

Как упоителен, как роскошен летний день в Малороссии! Как томительно-жарки те часы, когда полдень блещет в тишине и зное, и голубой, неизмеримый океан, сладострастным куполом нагнувшийся над землею, кажется, заснул, весь потонувши в неге, обнимая и сжимая прекрасную в воздушных объятиях своих! На нем ни облака. В поле ни речи. Всё как-будто умерло; вверху только, в небесной глубине дрожит жаворонок, и серебряные песни летят по воздушным ступеням на влюбленную землю, да изредка крик чайки или звонкий голос перепела отдается в степи. (*PSS* I, pp. 111–12)

Scholars have variously described this passage as picturesque, panoramic, cinematographic, painterly, cosmic, mythopoeic, majestic, etc. What I would like to focus on is how this opening passage, and other passages in the story, deal with *persons and their sexuality*. As Hugh McLean (1958, p. 226) has observed, the opening is a rare example of how Gogol uses "overtly erotic imagery" *without* at the same time suggesting "ominous foreboding or dread of fearful consequences." As is well known, Gogol's more usual tendency in the later works is to associate (hetero)erotic imagery with what is in some way negative, absurd, or morbid: "èrotika u Gogolja napitana trupnym jadom," says Sinjavskij (1975, p. 505). Xoma Brut dies because of his sadomasochistic sexual relations with a witch (McLean 1958, p. 236; Rancour-Laferriere 1978). The artist Piskarev is driven to opium and

* I wish to thank Kipley Farr, James Gallant, George Grabowicz, Edward Kasinec, Paul Magocsi, Barbara Milman, Thomas Winner, and the students in my Gogol seminars (at Tufts University and the University of California, Davis) for their constructive criticism and other assistance. The Academy edition of Gogol (1937–52) is here abbreviated *PSS*. The standard edition of Freud (1953–65) is abbreviated *SE*.

suicide because of a prostitute. Akakij Akakievič develops a truly sick sexual relationship with a feminized overcoat and dies when it is stolen from him (Rancour-Laferriere 1982). But here, on the first page of *Soročinskaja jarmarka,* there is almost no hint of the peculiar, if not pathological sexuality that will characterize the later Gogol.

I use the Gogolian word "almost," however, because there is a catch. The Ukrainian landscape that Gogol portrays is at first devoid of any human beings, and therefore the apparently healthy, "true eroticism" (Driessen) of the passage takes on a curious impersonality: "it is . . . no accident that Gogol can allow such an unambiguous sexual embrace to take place on his pages *only* when the partners are as un-human or super-human as mother earth and her celestial consort" (McLean 1958, p. 226; my emphasis). In other words, heterosexual relations are somehow safer if they are cloaked with what psychoanalysts would call a defense mechanism of some kind (see Laplanche and Pontalis 1973, pp. 234–37, for a summary), and the particular mechanism at work here appears to be what Anna Freud (1966[1936]) calls "reversal." A sexual embrace between two human beings is defensively represented by reversing the "+ human" entities (a man and a woman) into "− human" entities (the ocean/sky and the earth).[1] At the same time the credibility of the representation, however defensive it may be, is reinforced by the appropriateness of gender: the man is represented by the grammatically masculine "okean," the woman by the grammatically feminine "zemlja."

All this is fine, the rhetorician will say, except that it is exactly backwards. Humans are not converted into non-human entities in Gogol's famous passage. Instead nature, which is non-human, is converted to something human by the standard rhetorical device of *personification* (προσωποποιΐα, *fictio personae* — see Lausberg, 1960, pars. 826 ff.). Most Gogol scholars who have discussed the passage would probably side with a rhetorical rather than a psychoanalytic view of it. Setchkarev (1965, p. 96) sees the passage as "a good example of Gogol's Nature pathos." Karlinsky (1976, p. 41) cites the image of the voluptuous, sleeping sky as one example of "how Gogol personifies the male element in nature." Samyškina (1979, p. 50)

[1] An additional defensive process is noted by Karlinsky (though he does not use the psychoanalytic term "defense"): the male ocean/sky, though it embraces the female earth, is asleep, and therefore "no actual congress can take place . . ." (1976, p. 40). This is, in a Gogolian way, only almost true, however, for "okean . . .*kažetsja,* zasnul. . ." is what the narrator says.

speaks of the "izobraženie landšafta v duxe romantičeskogo oduxotvorenija prirody" in Gogol's story.

The psychoanalyst could retort, however, that the rhetorical device of personification is just a special case of the general defensive device of "projection," where dangerous or unpleasant ideas concerning one's self are cast out, as it were, and appear to exist in the external rather than the internal realm. In this case the narrator's internal ideas about how voluptuously pleasant it would be to have heterosexual intercourse get projected into elements of the external landscape (cf. Dundes 1980, pp. 33–61, for a readable plea for the study of projection in folklore).

But no matter what defense mechanisms are at work in the passage (and the psychoanalysts have yet to get their act together as far as a workable theory and taxonomy of the defense mechanisms is concerned — Suppes and Warren 1975; Rancour-Laferriere 1980, pp. 200–201), it may still be said that there is some kind of defect in the boundary between what is a person and what is not a person in the story's opening passage. And this is generally true of Gogol. A non-person such as an overcoat, for example, is capable of becoming a person, i.e., a wife or a helpmate. Conversely, a person such as Čičikov is capable of becoming a thing, such as a church into which people are squeezed. Objects are personified, persons are depersonified. At one moment there are persons standing before us and behaving in lively fashion, while at the next moment they have gone dumb, turned to stone, become, in short, non-persons (see Mann's excellent study of the "formula okamenenija" in Gogol — 1978, pp. 354–66). The categories of person and non-person, or human and non-human, constitute for Gogol an *equivalence class,* a "±" where one pole is always suggestive of the opposite. I call this the *personification/depersonification complex* in Gogol's writings (cf. Rancour-Laferriere 1982, section 33). Personification is tangled in a "complex" with depersonification because it is so often difficult to separate the one from the other. Here, for example, is a description early in *Dead Souls*:

> . . . внизу были лавочки с хомутами, веревками и баранками. В угольной из этих лавочек, или, лучше, в окне, помещался сбитенщик с самоваром из красной меди и лицом так же красным, как самовар, так что издали можно бы подумать, что на окне стояло два самовара, если б один самовар не был с черною, как смоль, бородою. (*PSS* VI, p. 8)

Is the "sbitenščik" depersonified here, or is the samovar personified? Or is it both? Humans are constantly in danger of becoming

things, and things are always sliding over into the category of the human. The personification/depersonification complex is a dynamic, but also *unitary* phenomenon which lies behind *both* the oft-noted tendency for Gogol's characters to be lifeless masks, puppets or automata (cf. Belyj 1934; Bicilli 1947–48; Nabokov 1944; Gukovskij 1959; Vajskopf 1978; Driessen 1965; Erlich 1969; Sinjavskij 1975; and others) *and* the tendency for natural and artificial objects to become animated with human qualities. The personification/depersonification complex makes dynamic what would otherwise be a merely static "sootnošenie 'priroda-ljudi'" (this term is from Stepanova 1978, p. 43).

Returning now to the opening passage of *Soročinskaja jarmarka,* let us consider how the complementary processes of personification and depersonification operate. If the passage is regarded primarily from the viewpoint of the sexual embrace it depicts, then the fact that the agents of the embrace are mere objects of nature will tend to have a *depersonifying effect.* But if the passage is regarded primarily as a nature description, then the fact of the sexual embrace will tend to have a *personifying effect.* I am not sure that these two combined effects, like the famous visual illusion of a vase vs. two faces, are incapable of working simultaneously. No doubt some kind of reader-perception experiment could be designed. But both the depersonifying and personifying effects are at least potentially present in the passage, though most critics seem to have been more sensitive to the personification than to the depersonification. I would say the personification in the opening passage is the "major" effect, whereas depersonification is the "minor" effect.

Just the reverse seems to apply to the famous passage near the end of Gogol's story. Golopupenko and his Paraska, contrary to the wishes of the "evil stepmother" Xivrja, manage to get married and are now surrounded by an impersonal mass of madly dancing folk:

Странное неизъяснимое чувство овладело бы зрителем, при виде, как от одного удара смычком музыканта в сермяжной свитке, с длинными закрученными усами, всё обратилось, волею и неволею, к единству и перешло в согласие. Люди, на угрюмых лицах которых, кажется, век не проскальзывала улыбка, притопывали ногами и вздрагивали плечами. Всё неслось. Всё танцовало. Но еще страннее, еще неразгаданнее чувство пробудилось бы в глубине души при взгляде на старушек, на ветхих лицах которых веяло равнодушие могилы, толкавшихся между новым, смеющимся, живым человеком. Беспечные! даже без детской радости, без искры сочувствия, которых один хмель только, как механик своего

безжизненного автомата, заставляет делать что-то подобное человеческому, они тихо покачивали охмелевшими головами, подтанцывая за веселящимся народом, не обращая даже глаз на молодую чету.

Гром, хохот, песни слышались тише и тише. Смычок умирал, слабея и теряя неясные звуки в пустоте воздуха. Еще слышалось где-то топанье, что-то похожее на ропот отдаленного моря, и скоро всё стало пусто и глухо. (*PSS* I, pp. 135–36; the final lament of the narrator is not included here because it has a special significance — see below, p. 366)

Of only "minor" importance here are the personifying effects, such as the simile which converts the state of tipsiness ("xmel'") into a mechanic ("mexanik"). But of "major" significance, that is, what the critics have tended to notice, is the powerful depersonifying impact of the puppet-like, mechanical dancers. Thus Fanger (1979, p. 92) speaks of a "sinister puppeteer" behind what is happening to the supposedly live people in the scene. Karlinsky (1976, p. 38) refers to the "mechanically dancing senile hags" which undermine a finale that might otherwise have been joyous. Driessen (1965, p. 69) says the narrator "is looking at his own puppets." Bicilli (1947–48, p. 10) observes the impersonal "stadnost'" of the people dancing in the passage. The narrator, according to Samyškina (1979, p. 72), "vidit pered soboj ne živyx ljudej, a kukol." Mann (1978, p. 16) interprets the passage as an early step "v storonu mexaničeskoj imitacii žizni. . . ." Cox (1980, p. 230) says the dancing is "involuntary, puppet-like, dehumanized." Comments in this vein could be cited ad nauseam, all the way back to Gogol's contemporaries. The image of the dancing people as *puppets* is both particularly frequent and particularly apt, for, as is well known to Gogol scholars, the story borrows heavily from the Ukrainian puppet-theater or "vertep." Thus in the story we have such stock figures as the "prostoj mužik" (Čerevik), "zlaja mačexa" (Xivrja), "černobrovaja krasavica" (Paraska), "para vljublennyx" (Golopupenko and Paraska), "projdoxa-cygan," "d'jak-ljubovnik" (actually a "popovič" in this tale), "p'janyj žid," and "smešnoj čort" — see the following for detailed discussions of what Gippius calls the "vertepno-anekdotičeskaja tradicija" behind the Dikan'ka stories: Peretc 1902, pp. 47–55; Čudakov 1906; Luckyj 1971, pp. 104–109 (and references cited therein); Gippius 1966 (1924), pp. 11–12, 30–31; Gippius 1948; Rozov 1911; Bakhtin 1976 (1972); Driessen 1965, pp. 65 ff.; Samyškina 1979, p. 75; Lotman 1968, pp. 16 ff.; Ajzenštok 1940. I will not go into the often fascinating subtextual questions raised by these studies, but will note that it is perfectly possible for the reader to appreciate the depersonified quality of the people dancing at the end

of *Soročinskaja jarmarka* — or more generally to just appreciate Gogol's verbal art — while at the same time being largely ignorant of Gogol's subtexts (Rancour-Laferriere 1982, fn. 57; 1981).

The following scheme summarizes the way the personification/depersonification complex works in the quoted opening and penultimate passages of *Soročinskaja jarmarka*:

Device	Ukrainian Summer Day	Dancing Folk
Personification	major	minor
Depersonification	minor	major

Let us now return to the matter of psychological defense mentioned at the beginning of this essay. If the "minor" depersonifying effect of the opening passage had a defensive function, then how much more defensive must be the "major" depersonification of the closing passage? And what is it that the narrator and/or reader needs to be so strongly defended against? In my opinion, it is precisely the same thing that was defended against in the opening passage, namely, the notion of a heterosexual embrace.

In the first place, what is a wedding if not a legitimization of the sexual act between the two parties in the marriage? Golopupenko and Paraska have gone through the motions of flirting with each other, overcoming some customary obstacles from their elders, and having a "svad'ba" (though a strangely pagan one, with no clergy in sight). The motion which follows, and which is as inexorable as the tactful narrator's failure to mention it, is obvious. It is the motion of heterosexual intercourse. Čerevik gives the two young people his blessing with the words "Pust' ix živut, kak venki v'jut" (p. 135). In other words, as the more explicit folk proverb says: "Obvenčali — i et' pomčali" (Carey 1972, p. 76).

I use the word "motion" here because (1) it captures the impersonal puppet-like quality which the narrator wants to give to most of what happens in the scene (cf. especially the construction "Vsë neslos'. Vsë tancovalo," translated by Fanger as "Everything was in motion; everything was dancing"), and (2) it captures the erotic suggestiveness of the act of dancing. The Ukrainian folk are in motion — spontaneously, harmoniously ("vsë . . . perešlo v soglasie"), and compulsively ("voleju i nevoleju"). They cannot stop dancing even if they want to (cf. the instances of compulsive dancing in *Zakoldovannoe mesto, Propavšaja gramota, Vij, Taras Bul'ba,* and *Strašnaja mest'* — analyzed by Mann 1978, pp. 16–19). And in dancing, the folk are

by definition in *rhythmical* motion ("pritopyvali nogami i vzdragivali plečami," "pokačivali oxmelevšimi golovami . . ."). Just as there is a teleology to compulsive poetic rhythm (see Laferrière 1980), so too there is a goal-orientation in the compulsion to dance. In this case I would say we are dealing with a specifically erotic *telos* hidden within a non-erotic, depersonified disguise. Rhythmical activities such as dancing, says Freud (*SE* XV, p. 157), can in dreams signify sexual intercourse (see also Gutheil 1951, pp. 153, 243, 288, 336–37, 361, and 564–65 for clinical examples, and the curious little treatise *Tanz und Erotik* by Delius 1926). Havelock Ellis (quoting the Reverend Joseph Townsend) speaks of the "lascivious pantomime" that dance makes possible, and devotes some pages of *The Dance of Life* (1923, pp. 45–51) to dance's "intimate association with love." The ethologist Desmond Morris (1977, p. 178) discusses the "stylized Intention Movements" in dance, including "sexual intention movements and mimicked copulatory patterns" which help to suggest "patterns of behavior yet to come" (ibid., p. 246). This last phrase about behavior "yet to come" seems particularly appropriate to the dancing that takes place specifically at a wedding (see also Ellis and Abarbanel 1973, pp. 154–60, 313–25 for more on the sexual aspect of dance, and Sachs 1937, pp. 70–74, 85–102 on courtship, marriage, and fertility dances).

The erotic significance of dancing can be clearly seen in Russian folklore. For example:

> Муж в шанцах, а жена в танцах.
> (Dal', IV, p. 722)
>
> Муж пашет /плачет/, а жена пляшет/скачет/.
> (Dal', III, p. 336)

Compare the English proverb: "While the cat's away the mice will play." A current Russian "pogovorka" about dancing plays on the two meanings of "pol" ('sex'/'floor'):

> Танцы — тренье двух полов о третий.
> (Flegon 1973, p. 347)

Here are some unmistakably suggestive entries in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (a variety of cultures is represented):

Devils come to a dance-loving maid and play when she bathes (G 303.10.4.2).

Wife's dance charms husband back (R 152.4).

Witch harnesses man and leads him to dance (G 269.3; cf. Rancour-Laferriere 1978, pp. 221–23).

Witch rides man to dance (G 269.3.1).

Dancing naked in church punished (Q 222.5.3).

Dancing at wedding (T 136.3.1).

Dead lover dancing at sweetheart's wedding (E 214.1).

Devil dancing with a maid till she dies (G 303.10.4.1).

Earth made by couple dancing on cloth (A 825).

Girl shows herself naked in return for youth's dancing hogs (K 1358).

Devil dances with a maid and puts his claws through her hands (G 303.10.4.6).

The dancing[2] which takes place at the end of *Soročinskaja jarmarka* is of course only a part of the generally festive mood of the folk (though the narrator's own mood is different). The wedding scene is an excellent example of what Baxtin calls "narodnaja smexovaja kul'tura," in which a "distinctive atmosphere of freedom and merriment takes life out of its usual routine and makes the impossible possible (including also marriages that were previously impossible)" (Bakhtin 1976 [1972], p. 285; cf. Mann 1978, chap. 1). Unleashed sexuality and a general emphasis on the "lower parts of the body" have of course always been associated with Slavic wedding festivities, with Russian Christmas, Shrovetide, and other festivals involving the "skomoroxi," and with such festivals as the Greek Dionysiac rites, the Roman Saturnalia, Bacchanalia, Liberalia, and Floralia, the ancient Egyptian festival of Osiris, various carnivals of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, fertility cults in a variety of non-Western peoples, etc. (see, for example: Knight and Wright 1957 [1786/1866]; Olearius 1967 [1647], pp. 142–46, 164–68; Rancour-Laferriere 1979, p. 67; Stern and Stern 1980, pp. 7–14; Jones 1951, pp. 202 ff.; Rawson 1973, pp. 52–76; Frazer 1951, pp. 156 ff., 442–43, 449, 675 ff.; Warner 1977, p. 71, pp. 188–89; Baxtin 1965; Vsevolodskij-Gerngross 1929, pp. 132, 149). The fact that the particular festival which Gogol describes here is not altogether jolly (as Mann 1978 emphasizes) nonetheless does not detract from the sexuality of the scene, but rather just makes for

[2] Not all dancing, of course, has sexual significance or erotic overtones. Dancing can, for example, pantomime warfare and hunting. It can honor deities at religious festivals. It can communicate a great variety of nonverbal messages. A recent, semiotically oriented study is Hanna 1979. See also: Ellis 1923 and Sachs 1937, for general treatments; and Morris 1977, pp. 176–78, for the fascinating ethological background on dancing.

another example of the deadliness of Gogolian sexuality. The displacement is not only away from the coitus of the young people and toward the dancing of the old folks, but also away from life and toward death. Baxtin views the dancing scene as "a very typical image of dancing old age (virtually *dancing death* [počti *pljašuščej smerti*])" (1976, p. 286). On the faces of the old women, says the narrator, "vejalo ravnodušie mogily" (p. 135). It would be difficult to believe that Gogol was completely ignorant of the long and rich European tradition of the dance of death ("danse macabre") researched in Rosenfeld's *Der Mittelalterliche Totentanz* (1968; cf. Tuchman 1978, pp. 505 ff.). On the other hand, the motif "Dead men dance" appears in the folklores of quite a variety of cultures, and may therefore be quite a spontaneous idea (see entry E493 in Thompson's *Motif-Index*). Also, there were a number of customs which linked death with marriage, both within and outside of the Slavic territories (Warner 1977, p. 78).

If the final dancing scene is depersonified and morbid, the dancing scene just a little earlier in the story is handled in an entirely different way. Paraska is alone, thinking about a future life with her Golopupenko, and about how she will escape the clutches of her evil stepmother:

«Что я, в самом деле, будто дитя», вскричала она смеясь: «боюсь ступить ногою». И начала притопывать ногами всё чем далее, смелее; наконец левая рука ее опустилась и уперлась в бок, и она пошла танцовать, побрякивая подковами, держа перед собою зеркало и напевая любимую свою песню:

Зелененькій барвиночку,
  Стелися низенько!
А ты, мылый, чернобрывый,
  Присунься блызенько!

Зелененькій барвиночку,
  Стелися ще нызче!
А ты, мылый, чернобрывый,
  Присунься ще блыжче!

Черевик заглянул в это время в дверь, и, увидя дочь свою танцующею перед зеркалом, остановился. Долго глядел он, смеясь невиданному капризу девушки, которая, задумавшись, не примечала, казалось, ничего; но когда же услышал знакомые звуки песни, — жилки в нем зашевелились; гордо подбоченившись, выступил он вперед и пустился в присядку, позабыв про все дела свои. Громкий хохот кума заставил обоих вздрогнуть. «Вот хорошо, батька с дочкой затеяли здесь сами свадьбу! Ступайте же скорее: жених пришел!» (*PSS* I, pp. 134–35)

The reader would have to be rather insensitive not to notice that the dancing in *this* passage is *overtly* erotic in nature. Just before Paraska starts her dancing, the narrator reminds us of the frustrated sexual encounter of the "popovič" with Xivrja (Paraska looks into a pocket mirror[3] and sees the ceiling boards from which the "popovič" recently fell). Then, gazing lovingly into her mirror, Paraska dances about and sings (compare the narcissistic Oksana in *Noč' pered Roždestvom* — Karlinsky 1976, p. 38). Finally, the girl's father enters and the two dance alone — a hint at father/daughter incest that is to be compared with the relationship of Katerina with her father in *Strašnaja mest'* (cf. Cox 1980; Ermakov 1923, chap. 2; Rowe 1974, p. 399; Driessen 1965, pp. 103–106).

Having suggested that the dance encounter between father and daughter has erotic overtones ("Vot xorošo, bat'ka s dočkoj zatejali zdes' sami svad'bu!" — declares the *kum* who discovers them), I would like to add that there is something peculiar about the encounter, something which makes the encounter nearly as strange as the mechanical dancing of the folk at the end of the story.

What set Paraska to dancing in the first place was not her father, but her "evil stepmother." The dance represents (1) a *liberation* from the old hag, and at the same time, (2) an *identification* with her:

(1) «Не подумаю без радости», продолжала она, вынимая из пазухи маленькое зеркало, обклеенное красною бумагою, купленное ею на ярмарке, и глядясь в него с тайным удовольствием: «как я встречусь тогда где-нибудь с нею — я ей ни за что не поклонюсь, хоть она себе тресни. Нет, мачеха, полно колотить тебе свою падчерицу! Скорее песок взойдет на камне, и дуб погнется в воду, как верба, нежели я нагнусь перед тобою!» (p. 134)

(2) «Да я и позабыла . . . дай примерять очипок, хоть мачехин, как-то он мне придется!» Тут встала она, держа в руках зеркальце и, наклонясь к нему головою, трепетно шла по хате, как будто бы опасаясь упасть, видя под собою, вместо полу, потолок с накладенными под ним досками, с которых низринулся недавно попович, и полки, уставленные горшками. (ibid.)

A mirror is, of course, the supreme depersonifier: everything in it matches the person of the beholder, except there is no real person there. Like a puppet, the image in a mirror is not a person. How

[3] Mirrors, both on the level of imagery and in the very structure of narrative, play an important role in Gogol's work, as many scholars have noted, e.g.: Šenrok 1892–98, I, p. 269; Lotman 1968, p. 31; Vajskopf 1978, pp. 11 ff.; Smirnov 1979.

appropriate, then, that Paraska see not exactly herself in the mirror, but herself depersonified, the non-person she must identify with in order to awaken sexually, or, in other words, her "evil stepmother." Who will she become after marrying Golopupenko, after all, if not another female who lords it over her mate? Driessen says of the passage: "Things which are purely one another's mirror-image, are after all identical" (1965, p. 67) — only I would not say "identical" here, but *identical minus person.*

We are not informed, of course, about just what goes on between Paraska and Golopupenko after the wedding. But already in the daughter/father encounter there is a hint that Paraska is going to be the one who is "on top." The song she sings (her favorite) is one indication of this. The personified periwinkle (*Vinca minor*) in the song is, as any country boy knows, a low, creeping plant. She orders it (represented with a masculine noun and masculine adjectives) to spread out *low*: "Stelisja *nizen'ko!*" Another indication is her father's name, which is mentioned in the passage: "Čerevik" in Ukrainian means "shoe," i.e., something to clad the very lowest part of the body, and something which can iconically represent the female genitalia when a phallic woman's foot is inserted into it (Paraska's dancing is represented specifically with the expressions "stupit' *nogoju,*" "načala pritopyvat' *nogami,*" and "ona *pošla* tancovat' " — see my discussion of the similarly symbolic name "Bašmačkin" and of the general tendency toward shoe/boot fetishism in Gogol —Rancour-Laferriere 1982, section 9). Yet another indication is the kind of dance which the father performs: "pustilsja v *prisjadku* . . . ," which is to say that he had to be dancing below her, on a lower level. His dance seems almost to carry out her order sung to the periwinkle: "Stelisja nizen'ko!" Her dance, furthermore, seems to be the kind of aggressive, perhaps even sadistic act described by the "svadebnaja pesnja" which forms the epigraph of the chapter (13):

Не бийся, матинко, не бийся,
В червоные чобитки обуйся,
Топчи вороги
Пид ноги;
Щоб твои подкивки
Брязчалы!
Щоб твои вороги
Мовчалы!
(p. 133)

The wording of the Russian narration of her dancing in several instances repeats the very vocabulary of this Ukrainian song:

Russian text	*Ukrainian song*
Čto ja . . . *bojus'* stupit' nogoju.	Ne *bijsja,* matynko, ne *bijsja* . . .
I načala *pritopyvat'* nogami . . .	*Topčy* vorogy . . .
. . . pošla tancovat', *pobrjakivaja podkovami.* . . .	Ščob tvoi *podkivky Brjazčaly!*

This particular instance of female domination in Gogol thus depends heavily on a Ukrainian subtextual source.

Much has already been said about "masculinized," domineering females and "emasculated" males in Gogol's works (e.g.: Woodward 1979; Karlinsky 1976; Rancour-Laferriere 1982; Kaus 1912; Driessen 1965; Cox 1980; Ermakov 1923). Not wishing to repeat work that has already been done, I would like only to indicate that there is a certain systematicity to imagery representing the male/female opposition in *Soročinskaja jarmarka.* Gogol seems to focus our attention on the *vertical axis of the visual image* when dealing with the relationship between the sexes.

Somewhat earlier in the story than the epigraph just quoted, for example, is a sexually suggestive situation with a strikingly "vertical" orientation. Čerevik and his domineering wife have just been scared out of their wits by the appearance of a demonic pig, and have fallen senseless to the ground after running away from the devil. Some Gypsies come upon them:

«Стой; здесь лежит что-то, свети сюда!»
Тут пристало к ним еще несколько человек.
«Что лежит, Влас?»
«Так, как будто бы два человека: один наверху, другой нанизу; который из них чорт, уже и не распознаю!»
«А кто наверху?»
«Баба!»
«Ну, вот, это ж-то и есть чорт!» Всеобщий хохот разбудил почти всю улицу.
«Баба взлезла на человека; ну, верно, баба эта знает, как ездить!» говорил один из окружавшей толпы. (pp. 128–29)

Just as in the passages quoted earlier, the woman here is, from the viewpoint of the visual imagery employed, "on top," while the man is "below." Furthermore, this vertical relationship of man and woman is maintained a few lines later when, as Čerevik still lies on the ground asleep, Xivrja approaches him from above and rudely yanks his arm to

get him up. Gogol is clearly exploiting what the Soviet semioticians term the "verx ~ niz" opposition (Ivanov and Toporov 1965, pp. 98–100; Lotman 1971, pp. 265 ff.; Rancour-Laferriere 1982, fn. 142; Ioannisjan 1974; see also Snyder 1979 for an interesting study of the "principle of the vertical axis" in *Dead Souls*). Note also the role played by the devil in this "vertical" passage. The passage is perhaps the best example in the story of the devilish nature of female domination (Grabowicz 1975, pp. 488–89).

Moving to a still earlier point in the narration, we can discern another graphic exploitation of the vertical axis of imagery. Xivrja is talking with her lover, the "popovič" who is enjoying her cooking and is about to enjoy something else ("Čego dobrogo! vy, požaluj, zateete ešče celovat'sja!") when, all of a sudden, a crowd appears at the gate. Xivrja quickly hides the "popovič" in a little nook *up near the ceiling among the rafters,* admits the crowd of people (including her husband), and a round of storytelling begins. The story told by Cybulja is about the devil's "krasnaja svitka," a magical, fiery garment the devil has been trying to put back together for some time and which is now supposedly missing only its left sleeve. A number of strange incidents and minor horrors, which I will not recount just yet, are associated with the devil's stubborn search for his "svitka." The form which the devil takes at one point is "vo vsex oknax . . . svinye ryla." But suddenly, in the middle of Cybulja's story, a pig face ("svinaja roža") literally does appear in the window, and pandemonium breaks loose. One of the men in the crowd, ironically described as a "*vysokij* xrabrec" (my emphasis), jumps up and bumps his head against the rafters. The demonic farce continues as follows:

. . . доски посунулись, и попович с громом и треском *полетел на землю.* «Ай! ай! ай!» отчаянно закричал один, *повалившись на лавку* в ужасе и болтая на ней руками и ногами. — «Спасайте!» горланил другой, закрывшись тулупом. Кум, выведенный из своего окаменения вторичным испугом, *пополз в судорогах под подол* своей супруги. Высокий храбрец *полез в печь,* несмотря на узкое отверстие, и сам задвинул себя заслонкою. А Черевик, как будто облитый горячим кипятком, схвативши на голову горшок, вместо шапки, бросился к дверям и, как полуумный, бежал по улицам, не видя земли под собою; одна усталость только заставила его уменьшить немного скорость бега. Сердце его колотилось, как мельничная ступа, пот лил градом. В изнеможении готов уже был он *упасть на землю,* как вдруг послышалось ему, что сзади кто-то гонится за ним. . . Дух у него занялся . . . «Чорт! чорт!» кричал он без памяти, утрояя силы, и чрез минуту без чувств *повалился на землю.* «Чорт! чорт!» кричало вслед за ним, и он слышал только, как

что-то с шумом *ринулось на него.* Тут память от него улетела, и он, как страшный жилец тесного гроба, остался нем и недвижим посреди дороги. (pp. 127–28, my emphases)

I think it can be agreed that the general motion of the men in this scene is distinctly *downward,* while in two instances the women end up *above* the men: the "Kum" (Cybulja) crawls underneath his wife's skirts, and Xivrja lands "on top" of her husband in the middle of a road (where the Gypsies find them and joke about their sexual position — as discussed above).

Moving still further back toward the beginning of the story, we find further images of a vertical relationship of the sexes. Golopupenko, despairing of ever having his Paraska, declares: "Èx, esli by ja byl carem, ili panom velikim, ja by pervyj perevešal vsex tex durnej, kotorye pozvoljajut sebja *sedlat'* babam" (p. 121, my emphasis). As Čerevik is coming in to Soročincy, the narrator asks onlookers to direct their gaze *upward* ("podnjat' glaza nemnogo vverx") at the two women sitting *high* on Čerevik's wagon ("na vysote voza"). As the wagon crosses the mirror-like P'sol River, however, the vertical relationship of Čerevik and his two womenfolk is strikingly inverted:

Воз с знакомыми нам пассажирами взъехал в это время на мост, и река во всей красоте и величии, как цельное стекло, раскинулась перед ними. Небо, зеленые и синие леса, люди, возы с горшками, мельницы, — всё опрокинулось, стояло и ходило вверх ногами, не падая в голубую, прекрасную бездну. Красавица наша задумалась. . . . (pp. 113–14; cf. Sinjavskij 1975, p. 140)

This scene clearly anticipates Paraska's dance with her mirror, which takes place at the other end of the narration. In both cases the narrator takes the viewpoint of Paraska ("krasavica"), there is a mirror, and the possibility of actually falling downward into the mirror (a possibility that could be interpreted as an icon of psychological regression) is mentioned. Note that it is at the very moment of mirror inversion over the river that a vicious verbal fight erupts between Xivrja (high above) and Golopupenko (on the bridge with his friends). It is as if the ambiguity caused by the mirroring assists in the signification of this Gogolian "battle of the sexes," i.e., graphically emphasizes the problem of who is going to be "on top" and who "on the bottom." At the same time the effect of the mirroring is to *depersonify* the two fighters, and thus to make their fight somewhat less threatening.

Moving back, finally, to the very beginning of *Soročinskaja jarmarka,* and re-examining the image of the sky/ocean high above its

earthly consort, we can now appreciate the fact that the narrator has been working with an essentially vertical orientation of the sexes right from the very start (Ioannisjan 1974, p. 304, sees in this image the typical father-sky/mother-earth union of ancient cosmogonies). But this initial image of the story has the *man* "on top," while almost everywhere else in the story he is "on the bottom." Such a positioning of the sexes (and not only the matter of personification/depersonification) correlates directly with whether intercourse is a pleasant and positive experience (man "on top") or a frightening, negative experience (woman "on top") in the story.

Generally speaking, though, the (male) narrator and various (male) characters in the story (even Golopupenko at one point) seem resigned to the idea that heterosexual relationships are negative in some sense — bad, frightening, exploitative, deadly, exhausting, incomprehensible, etc. Gogol achieves this attitude not only by portraying woman as a domineering virago and by depersonifying her at strategic places in the narration (in addition to being a dancing automaton, she is a corpse embraced by her husband ["vyučilsja obnimat' pokojnuju svoju Xves'ku" — p. 118], she is an oven ["blagoslovennaja peč'" — p. 129],[4] and she has the face of a drum that is beaten upon by her husband ["predstavilas' tvoja roža barabanom" —p. 130]). But he also *personifies* some of her more repulsive, mysterious, and terrifying qualities in the form of a *devil*:

(1) "A vot vperedi i d'javol sidit!" — says Golopupenko upon seeing Xivrja sitting up on the wagon (p. 114; cf. Driessen 1965, p. 67).

(2) "Čort! čort!" — screams Čerevik as his wife Xivrja lands on top of him (p. 128 — the Gypsies later agree she is a "čort").

(3) "V staruxe d'javol sidit!" — declares Čerevik as he blames his wife for his going back on the deal with Golopupenko (p. 133).

Just as the carouser/devil who hangs around the tavern has "*kogti* na

[4] The image of woman as an oven (also found in Solzhenitsyn's *Odin den' Ivana Denisoviča*) suggests a womb-fantasy. In the passage quoted above the "vysokij xrabrec" who is frightened by the pig crawls into an oven ("peč'") at the same moment that Cybulja crawls under his wife's skirts. In some dialects of Ukrainian the word for "oven" is "pič," while "vagina" is "pička" (cf. Russian "pizda"). It thus appears that one of the ways the narrator represents female domination is by making males infantile to the point of uterine regression. In English, incidentally, it is said that "old dough will not rise in a new oven." For more on the erotic significance of ovens, see: Dundes 1980, pp. 41–42; *SE* V, pp. 354, 684; XV, p. 162.

lapax" (p. 125) so, too, Xivrja threatens to grab Čerevik's hair "supruženskimi *kogtjami*" (p. 120). If the devil has a "svinaja *roža*" (p. 127) when he peeks in at the folk gathered in Čerevik's house, Xivrja, too, has a "roža" (p. 130) that takes the form of a drum and is beaten by Čerevik in a dream. The fact that Xivrja is suffering from a "lixoradka" (p. 124) is yet another indication of her demonic character (see Maksimov, XVIII, pp. 25 ff., on disease as possession by the devil in the folkloric imagination). When she finds out that her step-daughter has managed to catch Golopupenko, Čerevik uses a specifically demonic vocabulary: "Ne *bes*is', ne *bes*is', žinka!" (p. 135). Perhaps the most subtle and interesting indication that Xivrja is the person of the devil resides in her name Xavron'ja Nikiforovna. A "xavron'ja" is a pig, or more specifically, a sow (Wheeler 1978, p. 866). But the devil, too, is a pig, for he has a "svinoe rylo" or a "svinaja ličina," or is described outright as a multiplicity of pigs ("svin'i na nogax" — p. 126). The phonological similarity of "Xivrja" to "svin'ja" ties this woman even closer to the pig/devil in the story (more on this below).

Pigs have long been associated with evil spirits — at least as far back as the time of Christ. In *Luke* (VIII: 26 ff.) the evil spirits in a man are cast out and enter a herd of swine, whereupon the herd runs over a cliff and into a lake. In Egyptian mythology the pig came to represent Set or Typhon, the demonic enemy of Osiris (Frazer 1951, p. 550). To this day Moslems believe that the pig is Satan in disguise. For more on pigs as representatives of the devil in both Russian folklore and in Gogol's works, see: Aksakov 1890, p. 130; Afanas'ev 1865–69, I: 768, 781–82; Zeldin 1978, p. 8; Holquist 1967. In twentieth-century Russian literature the pig-devil association is still alive and well, as can be seen in the flying pig episode in Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita.*

Much has been said in the scholarly literature about devils in Gogol's works (some of the more interesting studies are by: Mann 1978, pp. 23–28; Holquist 1967; Merežkovskij 1906; Clyman 1975; Gippius 1966 [1924], especially the chapter "Demonologija i fars," pp. 25–39; Stender-Peterson 1920; Emerson-Topornin 1976). In the Ukrainian tales the connection of the devil with women and marriage is particularly strong. As Grabowicz (1975, p. 487) observes, ". . . there is not one married woman in Dikan'ka who is not at some time, and usually repeatedly, called some variant of 'čort-baba'." To be married — from a man's viewpoint — is to be "saddled" (as Golopupenko says) with the devil. This notion corresponds well with

Gogol's own personal belief that the devil was someone who sat astride him and ordered him around like an obedient horse (cf. Emerson-Topornin 1976, p. 53).

The devil is not always a domineering woman, though. In *Šinel'*, for example, the devil is a man, Petrovič the tailor ("odnoglazyj čort" — *PSS* III, p. 149), who in turn is himself bedeviled by a rather weird wife. In *Portret* and in *Noč' pered Roždestvom* the devil is also clearly a man. Even within *Soročinskaja jarmarka* the devil is sometimes male. Thus, in Cybulja's story of the devil who is kicked out of hell, the form which this devil takes is distinctly masculine: "stal čort takoj guljaka, kakogo ne syščeš' meždu parubkami" (p. 125). At another point Čerevik raises the possiblity of he himself being the devil: "Bud', primerno, ja čort, — čego oboroni bože . . ." (p. 130).

Clearly there is some problem as to just what sex the devil is in *Soročinskaja jarmarka,* and the problem is an important part of the tension that grows as the story progesses. Gogol could have defused the problem by just making the female variant of personified evil into some kind of witch ("ved'ma")[5] whose gender would have been unquestionable (cf. Mann 1978, p. 77). Such is the case in *Vij,* for example, where the forces of evil divide clearly into two sexes — the male "Vij" and the female "ved'ma/pannočka."

But in *Soročinskaja jarmarka* the question of the sex of the demonic forces remains never quite resolved. Is the devil a "čort-baba" or is it the male "lukavyj" (the latter term is used by Paraska when she is tempted by Golopupenko)? Is it women or men who are in control of demonic forces?

The problem cannot be separated from the problem of the "battle of the sexes," or what Kaus (1912) refers to as the "Kampf" in the relationship of the sexes in Gogol. To have demonic forces in one's control is to win the "battle of the sexes," to be "on top," to *be* the devil. To lose the "battle of the sexes" is not to be in control of demonic powers, to be "on the bottom," to not be the devil. To be married is to participate in the battle, to be unmarried is to be tempted to participate.

But if the relationship of the sexes is a battle, what is it that the participants battle over, and why does a bisexual devil have to get mixed up in it?

[5] At one point Golopupenko actually does refer to Xivrja as a "ved'ma," but this designation does not play much of a role compared to her demonic designations.

Psychoanalysis has answers to these questions. Literary history and literary criticism do not.

In a number of studies psychoanalysts have shown that the devil is a *personification* of unacceptable, usually unconscious aspects of mental life ("die Personifikation des verdrängten unbewussten Trieblebens" says Freud — see: *SE* IX, p. 174; *SE* XIX, pp. 72–105; Jones 1951, p. 154; Ermakov 1923, pp. 23–24; Rancour-Laferriere 1982, section 3). The devil gets involved as a third party in the Gogolian relationship of the sexes because there is something unmentionable about the relationship, something personally "čužoj" (Smirnov's term for the demonic — 1979, p. 587), something which can only emerge in distorted, personified form. There is no room here for the idea that the devil *is* a real person, any more than there is room for a notion that the sky/ocean at the beginning of *Soročinskaja jarmarka* really *is* a man, or that the earth he embraces really is a woman. In other words, the devil is a part of the overall personification/depersonification complex which deceives people and which distorts the real nature of things (cf. the famous declaration at the end of *Nevskij prospekt*). But the mental material which is behind a personification of nature is generally much less disturbing (less "ego-distonic") than the mental currents comprising the devil/person. For example, the personification of the P'sol River as a "krasavica" baring her shimmering, silver breasts only thinly disguises the underlying erotic material while the idea of a demon jumping on someone's back hides something that is generally unmentionable.

Just what is the unmentionable something which the devil personifies? Basically, it is the chief thing which in the male-chauvinist Slavic culture of Gogol's day distinguished male from female, namely, the penis. Or more precisely, the devil in the story personifies the typically repressed and therefore intense emotional concern with the presence vs. the absence of a penis. The above-discussed ambisexuality or unresolved tension between the devil's identity as a man and as a woman in *Soročinskaja jarmarka* can be accounted for by an unresolved mental conflict about whether an individual does or does not possess a penis. The devil in search of his red jacket is that conflict, *in person*. Also, the above observation that the sexes do not interact peaceably but instead battle one another can be explained by the common unconscious perception of "coitus as a battle, in which the prize is a penis" (Brown 1966, p. 63). The devil is involved in Gogolian coitus because he is the fantasy of coitus as violence, again *in person*.

I do not wish to review here all the psychoanalytic literature on the castration complex and on the particularly common fantasy that sexual intercourse is damaging to the genitalia (see: *SE* IX: 220; Fenichel 1945, pp. 277–78; Klein 1975, pp. 60, 69, 72, 111, 162; Ferenczi 1972, II: 165; Rancour-Laferriere 1978, p. 223). But I would like to cite the one example of Freud's famous Russian patient, known widely as the "Wolf Man":

> When the patient entered more deeply into the situation of the primal scene ["Urszene," i.e., the real or imagined witnessing of sexual intercourse between the parents], he brought to light the following pieces of self-observation. He assumed to begin with, he said, that the event of which he was a witness was *an act of violence,* but the expression of enjoyment which he saw on his mother's face did not fit in with this. . . . (*SE* XVII, p. 47; my emphasis)

The specific act of violence which the Wolf Man believed was taking place in the primal scene concerned the presence or absence of the penis, that is, it was castration. One representation that castration took in the chain of free associations produced by the Wolf Man was the idea of a *tailless* wolf. The Wolf Man had been struck by a story told by his grandfather in which ". . . the tailless wolf asked the other [wolves] *to climb upon him.* It was this detail that called up the recollection of the picture of the primal scene" (ibid., p. 42; emphasis Freud's). According to the Wolf Man, the sexual position in the primal scene was *coitus a tergo, more ferarum.* The Wolf Man's phobia of wolves is interpreted by Freud as follows:

> For the proper appreciation of the wolf phobia we will only add that both his father and mother became wolves. *His mother took the part of the castrated wolf, which let the others climb upon it; his father took the part of the wolf that climbed.* But his fear, as we have heard him assure us, related only to the standing wolf, that is, to his father. It must further strike us that the fear with which the dream ended had a model in his grandfather's story. For in this the castrated wolf, *which had let the others climb upon it,* was seized with fear as soon as it was reminded of the fact of its taillessness. It seems, therefore, as though he had identified himself with his castrated mother during the dream, and was now fighting against that fact. (ibid., p. 47; my emphasis)

It is clear that Freud's Russian patient, just like Gogol's narrator in *Soročinskaja jarmarka,* is very concerned with who is "on top" and who is "on the bottom" in sexual relations. The only way to explain this great concern — for, objectively, intercourse can be accomplished no matter who is "on top" or "on the bottom" — is to postulate that *something* is to be gained or lost, depending on the vertical arrangement. Since psychoanalysts (and psychologists generally) have not

come up with anything better than the penis as an explanation, that is, since no one has proposed a viable alternative to the castration complex as an explanation for why people think it is either terrifying or funny for the *man* to be "on the bottom," then Gogol scholars have little choice if they wish to explain (not just paraphrase) the way Gogol's narrator handles the "verx ~ niz" opposition.

But in borrowing the psychoanalytic explanation, the Gogol scholar gets an added bonus, namely, an accounting of the famous red coat. Why is the devil so concerned about his/her "krasnaja svitka"? Up to now I have refrained from saying anything about this item of clothing, though it is clearly of major significance and has yet to be adequately interpreted by the critics. Driessen (1965, p. 66) calls it "the centre of gravity" and the "demoniac principle" of the story. The story (told by Cybulja) of how the devil lost it and then tried to regain it constitutes the key "story within the story," the embedded supernatural tale which has a major effect on the surrounding tale — not to mention on the reader of both tales — even if it does turn out that the antics leading up to the concluding marriage were only the result of a practical joke ("rozygryš" — Smirnov[6]) played by the Gypsies.

The special properties of the "krasnaja svitka" are what gives the "story within the story" its supernatural tinge. Put on the devil's fiery, glowing coat and it will seem heavy and stifling. Chop it up and the parts come back together again (unless the one wielding the axe first makes a sign of the cross). Throw it into the fire and it will not burn. Clearly this coat is something very special, particularly for the devil, who wants it back so badly and who plays such terrifying pranks (or so it seems to the gullible folk and to the believing reader) in order to get back all its parts.

Yet the interesting thing is that, as several scholars have noticed, the devil never does get all of his "krasnaja svitka" back. Or at least we do not see this happen because the story shifts from supernatural to natural gear just before the remaining left sleeve is found. This incompleteness is curiously similar to what happens to Xivrja and the "popovič": their tryst is never completed because the crowd of folk interrupt. Indeed, the devil and Xivrja are the only two main charac-

[6] As should be quite clear from the present analysis, I heartily disagree with Smirnov's claims that "istorija s čertom . . . stanovitsja irrelevantnoj s točki zrenija razvjazki sjužeta" (1979, p. 588; cf. also Lotman 1970, p. 34). Not all of Gogol's contemporaries were completely convinced by the "practical joke" expla-

ters who never satisfy their desires. Golopupenko gets his Paraska. Paraska gets her Golopupenko. Čerevik sells his mare and his wheat, in addition to marrying off his daughter. The tall Gypsy, who serves as a kind of back-up personification for the devil, gets the oxen. Cybulja gets to finish his story (so do Rudyj Pan'ko and Nikolaj Gogol!). But the devil himself and Xivrja remain frustrated; thus, there has to be more than just a belly laugh in the way the narrator constantly equates these two characters (". . . vot vperedi . . . d'javol sidit!").

I suggest that we look at the interruption of the tryst quite literally: what Xivrja does not get from the "popovič" as a result of the interruption is precisely his phallus. She lacks even the momentary possession of a phallus afforded by the sexual act. Furthermore, she either was not getting anything sexually from her husband Čerevik, or was not satisfied with what she was getting. Otherwise, she would not have taken on the "popovič." Just as the devil never got enough of his red coat back, she never got enough sexual gratification. Or, just as the "s*v*in'ja" never completely regained the "s*v*itka," so too "X*iv*rja" never quite got her "popo*vič*" (named "Afanasij *Iv*ano*vič*") and did not get enough of her Čere*vik*:

С*ВИ*НЬЯ
С*ВИ*ТКА
Х*ИВ*РЯ
ПОПО*ВИ*Ч
АФАНАСИЙ *ИВ*АНО*ВИ*Ч
ЧЕРЕ*ВИ*К

Gogol seems to be reinforcing the close psychological association of these central lexical elements with a phonological association.

Another way to view Xivrja's frustration is through the suggestiveness of her name. She is "Xavron'ja," that is to say, a sow, a female, penisless pig. I have already mentioned the connection of her name with the "čort"/"svin'ja" in the story. But the phallic iconicity of pigs also has to be pointed out, for it strongly reinforces the idea that her connection with the devil is motivated by a specific concern with penises. Karlinsky (1976, p. 73) discusses the phallic signification of pigs in Gogol as follows:

> Pigs in Gogol's work make a regular habit of forcible and violent entry into human dwellings. In a climactic scene in "The Fair at Sorochintsy," a pig

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nation, and at least a "fantastičeskij otsvet" shines on the denouement of the story (cf. Mann 1978, p. 78).

> breaks a window and shoves its snout through it, terrifying a roomful of people. In "The Overcoat," a "normal young pig" rushes out of a private residence in St. Petersburg and knocks a policeman off his feet. In a later chapter of "The Two Ivans" and in "Viy," pigs likewise break through manmade partitions and barge into enclosed areas occupied by human beings, actions strongly suggesting that they are associated with both sexuality and violence in Gogol's mind. (cf. Ermakov, 1923, p. 111)

One of the "zavetnye skazki" collected by Afanas'ev (Perkov 1980, p. 140) is about a piglet ("porosenok") that a stupid young girl thinks is being inserted into her vagina (when in fact it is something else that her male friend is inserting). Rice (1976, pp. 361, 365–66) comments on the role of pigs in erotic Russian folk songs and children's lore. In English the word "hog" is a colloquialism for the penis, and "he porked her" refers to sexual intercourse. The most recent example of the eroticization of swine in Russian literature is chapter 13 of Vladimir Vojnovič's *Žizn' i neobyčajnye priključenija soldata Ivana Čonkina,* where the hero flies into a rage because his girlfriend has supposedly been sleeping with her pet "Bor'ka" (the theme of bestiality was of course already established in Gogol's *Two Ivans*).

If it is a phallus that Xivrja fails to get (and that the stepdaughter she is jealous of does get at the end of the story), and if there are, as we have seen, abundant parallels between the pig-person Xivrja and the pig-devil, then might we conclude that the devil's unsuccessful quest to regain the coat represents Xivrja's vain search for a phallus? The fact that the devil is missing his coat is a kind of defect, much like the defects typically associated with the devil — he limps, or he has only one eye, or a limb is deformed, etc. But demonic defects have, as Ernest Jones argued in his classic *On the Nightmare* (1951, p. 180; cf. Rancour-Laferriere 1982), implications of castration. Furthermore, there is a well-known masculine symbolism to coats, cloaks, jackets, etc., and therefore their aggravated absence (or their being cut up) could suggest castration. Here is what Jones says in his paper on the "mantle symbol":

> A young woman dreamt: "I was sitting on a bench and shivering with cold. My father came and wrapped me in his mantle. But Alfred (her lover) gently drew this mantle off and covered me with his warm soft one, which warmed me through and through" [Jones is quoting a dream reported by Stekel]. This would seem to be a simple inversion; a soft object enfolding her thrills her with warmth in place of this result being achieved by her enfolding a hard object, i.e., receiving and enclosing it. The second dream (also by a young woman) related by Stekel is confirmatory of this interpretation, for it runs: "My mother tried to wrap me in her mantle. It is too short and does not warm me." This is

evidently a homosexual dream, expressing dissatisfaction with the size and erotic capacity of the clitoris.

The hint from this last material perhaps gives us a . . . point of connection between mantle and penis, a contrast association between an enfolding and a penetrating object. (Jones 1927, pp. 64–65; cf. *SE* V, pp. 355–56; XV, p. 157)

I have elsewhere (1982, section 19) expressed some doubts about Jones's interpretation "by inversion," and have argued that in most instances a mantle or coat is in fact significant in the feminine rather than the masculine sense (this is certainly the case in *Šinel',* where Akakij Akakievič's new overcoat is characterized as a wife and a helpmate). But there are cases where a coat, despite its failure to qualify as what semioticians would call an icon of a phallus, nonetheless has a clear masculine significance. For example, Zeus covers Hera with a cloak in the ceremony of the sacred wedding. In the biblical book of Ruth (III: 7–9) the copulation of Booz with Ruth is represented as Booz covering Ruth with his mantle. In Russian the verb "kryt'"/"pokryt'"/"pokryvat'" refers to the copulation of animals (a mare is said to be "covered" by a stallion: see 1982, section 19, for a more detailed discussion).

In *Soročinskaja jarmarka* the only person who is actually described as donning the "krasnaja svitka" is a woman, and the experience is not a pleasant one:

Пана обокрал на дороге какой-то цыган и продал свитку перекупке; та привезла ее снова на Сорочинскую ярмарку, но с тех пор уже никто ничего не стал покупать у ней. Перекупка дивилась, дивилась и наконец смекнула: верно, виною всему красная свитка. Недаром, надевая ее, чувствовала, что ее всё давит что-то. (p. 127)

The very first time the "krasnaja svitka" is mentioned is specifically in the context of an embrace:

«Вчера волостной писарь проходил поздно вечером, только глядь — в слуховое окно выставилось свиное рыло и хрюкнуло так, что у него мороз подрал по коже; того и жди, что опять покажется *красная свитка!*»

«Что ж это за *красная свитка?*»

Тут у нашего внимательного слушателя волосы поднялись дыбом; со страхом оборотился он назад и увидел, что дочка его и парубок спокойно стояли, обнявшись и напевая друг другу какие-то любовные сказки, позабыв про все находящиеся на свете свитки. (p. 117)

The transition here is too sudden. Is Čerevik terrified by the "krasnaja svitka," or by what his daughter and particularly his future son-in-law are doing? As he turns around to look at the place ("staryj, razvalivšijsja saraj") where the devil's tricks ("čertovskie šašni")

are played, he sees instead a sexually suggestive scene and instantly forgets the devil.[7] What's more, he immediately picks up on the sexuality of the scene by remembering his own loss of virginity, rather than being concerned about what his daughter is up to:

«Эге, ге, ге, земляк! да ты мастер, как вижу, обниматься! А я на четвертый только день после свадьбы выучился обнимать покойную свою Хвеську, да и то спасибо куму: бывши *дружкою,* уже надоумил». (p. 118)

Within a very short sequence (21 lines), then, we have the following chain of narrative associations:

Devil's trickery
↓
Devil's red coat
↓
Embrace of young lovers
↓
Golopupenko's "mastery" of embracing
↓
Čerevik's first sexual embrace.

It thus seems clear that the "krasnaja svitka" is tied to the devil's own masculine sexuality (note that his "šašni" also has the meaning of "amorous intrigues," and that he is no longer a "guljaka" after he pawns his coat). It is true that our attention is not directly focused on the devil's sexuality per se in the passages just quoted, but is instead suddenly and unaccountably displaced away from the devil's metonymic red coat and onto the way Golopupenko embraces Paraska, that is, onto the sexually suggestive behavior of the fellow in the (also metonymic) white coat.

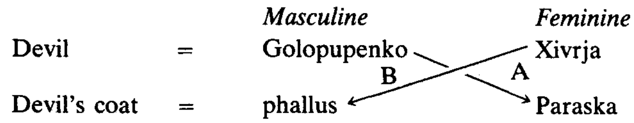
What I conclude, then, is that the devil's special red coat, though it is obviously not a phallic icon (in the Peircean sense), is nonetheless unavoidably suggestive of masculine sexuality. It is a phallic suggestion rather than a phallic icon (or "phallic symbol" in the customary psychoanalytic terminology). The fact that the pig-devil wants it back so badly seems to be a reflection of the fact that the pig-person Xivrja either wants to possess a man (be temporarily phallic) or to actually have a phallus permanently and thus be fully masculine, rather than a mere virago.

[7] It is curious that, whereas in this passage storytelling about the devil is interrupted by a scene of lovemaking (Golopupenko and Paraska), in a later passage lovemaking (Xivrja and the "popovič") is interrupted by storytelling about the devil.

On the other hand, if the devil's coat is seen from the obvious viewpoint of its feminine iconicity — it encloses and envelops, it is represented by a noun of the feminine gender — then the devil's search for the coat can be understood as a reflection of a man's search for a woman — in this case Golopupenko's quest for Paraska. "Lukavyj," it may be recalled, is how Paraska describes Golopupenko's approach. It is in this connection that the oft-noted parallelism of the devil's "krasnaja svitka" with Golopupenko's "belaja svitka" is relevant. The devil, through the mediation of the gypsy, does Golopupenko's work. At one level the devil represents Golopupenko. The misfortune wreaked by the devil results in a wife for Golopupenko, which in Gogolian terms is to say that the devil's deeds result in eventual misfortune for Golopupenko himself. All those antics concerning the red coat ultimately cause Golopupenko to be "saddled" by a woman. But she is a virgin woman ("nevesta"), and there lies a possible explanation for some of the coat's peculiar properties. For one thing, it resists being cut up: "Sxvatil topor i izrubil ee v kuski; gljad' — i lezet odin kusok k drugomu, i opjat' celaja svitka" (p. 127). Could this be a reference to the breaking of the maidenhead which must necessarily follow the marriage of Golopupenko and Paraska? The phrase "celaja svitka" quoted here is especially suggestive of the colloquialism "celka" ("hymen," "virgin" — Drummond and Perkins 1980, p. 72; cf. "slomat' celku," i.e., "break the hymen," ibid.; note that, just a few lines after the coat is successfully chopped up, the pig-devil reappears, thrusting its phallic snout through the window of Xivrja's house — "Okno brjaknulo s šumom; stekla, zvenja, vyleteli von, i strašnaja svinaja roža vystavilas' . . . " [p. 127] — this image of breaking glass is rather like the iconic glass-breaking or dish-breaking that occurs in a variety of wedding ceremonies). As for the bright, glowing red color of the devil's coat, it is difficult not be reminded of blood (cf. the colloquialisms "kraski" and "krasnye čisla," which refer to menstrual blood [ibid., pp. 32–33], though in this case the blood would be that of defloration). Finally, there is the interesting fact that the coat, though hot and the color of fire, will not burn when thrown into the fire. Perhaps this is a reference to the common syndrome known in English as "the first time is not the best time."

Even if all the iconicities proposed in the foregoing paragraph do not seem acceptable, it does nonetheless appear that the "krasnaja svitka" has at least some feminine significance attached to it. Add to this the

masculine allusion of the coat (discussed above) and it becomes necessary to conclude that the coat, like the devil him-/herself, is a bisexual thing. The relationships which the devil and his/her coat help (defensively) to signify might be diagrammed as follows:



The arrows indicate desire. Thus:

A: Golopupenko desires Paraska

is a legitimate desire, though it involves dangerous ideas having to do with defloration which are disguised by some of the demonic antics with the coat. But

B: Xivrja desires a phallus

is illegitimate in at least two ways: she wants to commit adultery, or she wants to be a man. The latter desire is particularly threatening to the male ego, and is represented by the most intricately developed demonism of the story, namely, the scene where the devil's appearance sends the men all downward, with the "čort-baba" remaining "on top" and with the men all in very questionable possession of their phalli long afterward. In other words, proposition B, more so than proposition A, raises the specter of coitus as battle, or lovemaking as castration, and the demonic personification of these ideas is considerably more terrifying than any personification of Golopupenko's legitimate desire as "lukavyj." I think it can be agreed, moreover, that the devil as a personifying device plays a considerably larger role in *Soročinskaja jarmarka* than the other personifications and depersonifications discussed earlier in this essay. As Gogol's writing develops this will be less and less the case, for devils will recede in importance and other kinds of personification/depersonification (noses, overcoats, dead souls, etc.) will take center stage.

There are some matters related to the personification/depersonification complex which ought to be mentioned here, although they cannot be discussed at length. One is the question: who is the narrator of *Soročinskaja jarmarka*? Is he Rudyj Pan'ko? Is he the "panič" in the pea-green coat? Is he Gogol himself? Driessen (1965, pp. 70–71) gives an excellent discussion of this problem, and I will only add that the fuzziness of the boundaries between persons (personification/depersonification complex) has to be related to the typically fuzzy bound-

aries between narrators in Gogol's skaz-type narrations. There are some possibilities for future research here. Also, what might be the relationship between the personification/depersonification opposition and other well-known Gogolian oppositions, such as "svoj"/"čužoj" (Smirnov 1979, pp. 587 ff.; Ivanov and Toporov 1965, pp. 156–65; Lotman 1975 [1969]; Rancour-Laferriere 1982, section 2),[8] sacred/profane, and laughter/tears? For example, the famous personified "sladostrastnyj kupol" in the opening passage seems almost a contradiction in terms if we realize that "sladostrastnyj" belongs to the realm of the profane, while "kupol" belongs to the sacred (Mandel'štam 1902, p. 175; Samyškina 1979, p. 69). Also, etymologically speaking, "sladostrastnyj" is "svoj," i.e., composed of native Slavic roots, while "kupol" is "čužoj," since it is a foreign borrowing (cf. German *Kuppel,* French *coupole,* Italian *cupola* — Fasmer 1964–67, II: 421). On the other hand, nothing seems to be more "čužoj" from the narrator personally than that which is "sladostrastnyj." Thus the single image of a "sladostrastnyj kupol" is involved in a complex manner in at least three sets of oppositions: personification/depersonification, sacred/profane, and "svoj/"čužoj."[9] Is there a system in the way such oppositions are related to each other in Gogol's imagery? Do oppositional poles align themselves in regular ways (e.g., depersonification being associated with "čužoj"), or are the alignments random or dependent on other factors?

Seen in the broadest perspective, the play on the opposition personification/depersonification is but another example of the pervasive play with opposites (including reversals or inversions) in Gogol. In constantly reversing the reader's perception from person to non-person, or vice-versa, Gogol's narrator demonstrates what critics have variously termed Gogol's "logika obratnosti" (Mann 1978, p. 379), "myšlenie protivorečijami" (Ermilov 1959, p. 58), or "reverse vision" (Rowe 1976). I refer the reader to my book (1982) for a discussion of the anal and homosexual implications of this general process. Here I wish only to observe the homoerotic significance of the way Gogol

[8] The "svoj"/"čužoj" opposition is understood in very diverse ways by different scholars, and needs considerable study before it can become a really workable theoretical opposition. The opposition is entangled, moreover, in the morass of impossible terms, including "grotesque," "fantastic," "absurd," etc. — see Rancour-Laferriere 1982.

[9] Curiously enough, the image of a "kupol" has feminine rather than masculine overtones — that is, it represents a breast —in some other instances of Gogol's work (Gippius 1924, p. 226, fn. 30).

unexpectedly depersonifies the crowd of dancing folk near the end of the story.

It was noted above that the description of the dancing puppets was not quite the end of the story. The real conclusion of the story, which I believe at least partially motivates the depersonification of the dancers, goes as follows:

Не так ли и радость, прекрасная и непостоянная гостья, улетает от нас, и напрасно одинокий звук думает выразить веселье? В собственном эхе слышит уже он грусть и пустыню и дико внемлет ему. Не так ли резвые други бурной и вольной юности, по одиночке, один за другим, теряются по свету и оставляют наконец одного старинного брата их? Скучно оставленному! И тяжело и грустно становится сердцу, и нечем помочь ему. (*PSS* I, p. 136)

The phrase "Ne tak li" ties this sentimental coda to the immediately preceding description of the dancing automata. That is, the gradual fading away of the impersonal dancers is assimilated to the male narrator's[10] gradual loss of male friends. At the same time the story *Soročinskaja jarmarka* is itself coming to an end, as must all good things, and we are therefore in an appropriate mood for thinking about loss. But there is something else hidden in this final paragraph besides a lonely old man ending his story. While the heterosexually oriented dancing folk are utterly mechanical and impersonal to the narrator, both he and his old male friends ("rezvye drugi burnoj i vol'noj junosti") are, in contrast, presented as real human beings, as perhaps the only non-puppets in the entire story. But for whom do these human and male friends abandon him, if not for women? The "Ne tak li" paragraph is not just gratuitously tagged on and is not just an artificially extended simile. Rather, it reflects the profoundly personal concerns of an essentially homosexual narrator for whom (1) marriage is unthinkable (one must become an automaton in order to do it), and (2) marriage means the loss of one's best (male) friends. Both of these concerns pervade Gogol's life and works, as Karlinsky (1976) has shown (see also Alexander 1981).

Death, too, haunts the closing passage, not only because marriage is such a frightening and deadly thing to the homosexual mind (cf. Špon'ka's dream, or Podkolesin's leap out of a window), but also

[10] The narrator does not explicitly say it is he himself who loses the friends, but most readers have understood the passage to be the narrator's description of his own unhappiness.

because the narrator's friends seem to be dying off as well as marrying off. Thus the story's "supposedly joyous finale" (Karlinsky) is only "supposedly joyous" precisely because it is shot through with both homosexual and morbid implications. Homosexuality and death are associated with each other elsewhere in Gogol's works (Rancour-Laferriere 1982) and in Gogol's life (e.g., the deaths of Mixail Tomarinskij and Iosif V'el'gorskij — cf. Karlinsky 1976, pp. 188 ff.). Whether this association was forced upon Gogol by the very structure of the society he lived in, or by some deep psychological structure peculiar to Gogol, or by both, is a problem that remains to be solved in future analyses of Gogol's homosexuality.

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DOCUMENTS

The Contribution of Zaporozhian Cossacks to Ottoman Military Reform: Documents and Notes*

AVIGDOR LEVY

When in June 1826 the Ottoman government of Sultan Mahmud II (reigned 1808–1839) set about to introduce comprehensive military reforms, one of its chief embarrassments derived from the lack of sufficient funds. The annual government revenue at the time was estimated at about 200 million *kuruş,*[1] equal then to approximately 3.5 million British pounds.[2] At the same time the annual costs of salaries and of feeding and clothing a new cavalry regiment of 1,581 officers and men based in Istanbul were expected to amount to over 1.5 million *kuruş*. If one were to add to this figure other necessary expenses — such as horses, arms, equipment, lodging and training, costs only partly documented in the available records but costs of which the government must have been conscious — then the enormity of anticipated outlays in relation to current government revenues would loom even greater.[3] Since the Ottoman government was con-

* A note on transliteration: Ottoman-Turkish names and terms are transliterated by using present-day Turkish spelling. In words of Arabic origin the final b and d are preserved (*kâtib,* not *kâtip*; Mahmud, not Mahmut).

[1] Keçecizade Izzet Molla, *Lâyiha* [A Proposal], MS. K. 337 in the Cevdet Manuscript Collection, Belediye Library, Istanbul, p. 64. For a discussion of the relation between military reform and financial constraints, see my article, "Military Reform and the Problem of Centralization in the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century," *Middle Eastern Studies* 18, no. 3 (July 1982): 227–49, especially pp. 238–39 and 248, fn. 62.

[2] Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople . . . ,* 3 vols. (London, 1846), 2: 74–76, contains a table of the rates of exchange of the British pound to the Ottoman *kuruş,* from 1814 to 1843.

[3] For itemization and sources, see below, Table 2 and notes.

sidering plans for the establishment of a relatively large new military force of about 100,000 men,[4] it was obvious that a measure of economy was very much in order. Consequently, while the authorities immediately proceeded to open eight new infantry regiments in Istanbul alone, and nine additional infantry regiments in a number of provincial capitals,[5] the establishment of the more costly cavalry units was, for the time being, postponed. It was only in November 1826 that a decision was adopted to establish the first modern cavalry regiment in one of the provincial centers, where it was expected that costs could be appreciably less. The province of Silistra was selected for this purpose, since, as the Ottoman sources explain, it possessed the following requisites: first, horses and fodder were readily available in the province, thereby making the project economically more feasible; second, excellent horsemen were found there, especially among the heterogeneous population of the Dobrudja; and finally, the province was considered one of the most sensitive on the empire's military frontier.[6] The Silistra cavalry regiment was to be recruited from three ethnic groups. The first two were Muslims — Tatar and Turkish tribesmen settled by the Ottomans in the Dobrudja to strengthen their Danubian frontier. The third group were the Christian Zaporozhian Cossacks (in Turkish *Potkalĭ Kazaklarĭ*).[7]

In the traditional Ottoman state, service in the regular armed forces was reserved for Muslims only. The state did, however, employ some of its non-Muslim subjects in a variety of auxiliary military services. The most enduring and familiar were those forces known as *Martolos*es, who were recruited from Serbs, Greeks, Orthodox and Catholic Albanians, and other hardy mountain peoples of the Balkans. These units performed such services as guard duty along the frontiers, strategic roads and waterways, and bridges and mountain passes. The *Martolos*es and similar units operated in the Ottoman service from the fifteenth century, and possibly earlier, until well into the nineteenth

[4] Ahmed Lutfi, *Tarih-i Lutfi* [Lutfi's History], 8 vols. (Istanbul, 1290–1328/1873–1910), 1: 131–32, 144.
[5] *Başbakanlĭk Arşivi* [Prime Minister's Archives], Istanbul (hereafter *BBA*), *Tevcihat ve redif ve mevad ve mürettebe ve mühimme-i asâkir defterleri* [Registers of military appointments and financial administration] (hereafter *TRD*), vol. 26, p. 19 (21 *Muharrem* 1242).
[6] *Tarih-i Lutfi,* 1: 195.
[7] For the identification of the *Potkalĭ kazaklarĭ* as Zaporozhian Cossacks and the etymology of the Turkish term, see Omeljan Pritsak, "Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)," *Oriens* 6, no. 2 (1953): 294, fn. 7.

century.[8] The Ottoman navy also relied heavily on the services of Greek sailors. But the Greeks were primarily engaged in noncombatant seafaring duties.[9] In the modern era the first non-Muslims to be officially admitted to the regular Ottoman armed forces were recruited from the Cossack population of the Dobrudja and the lower Danubian basin.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the sparsely populated Danube delta and the Dobrudja increasingly served as a haven for refugees, Cossacks and others, fleeing the expansion and centralizing policies of the Russian state. Many of these fugitives arrived as individuals or in small bands. But the organized settlement of two large groups absorbed the other Russian and Ukrainian elements. These two Cossack groups lived in close geographical proximity and were similar in social organization. Hence both will be discussed here.

The first large-scale settlement was that of a group of Don Cossacks, followers of Ignat Fedorovich Nekrasov. In 1708 several thousand Nekrasovites, as they became known, settled under Ottoman protection in the Kuban. In the 1720s they were resettled by the Ottoman government in the Danube delta around Tulcea (Tulcha). From there they gradually spread also to the environs of Babadag, Măcin (Machin), Hîrşova, and Silistra.[10] The Nekrasovites, who were schismatic Old Believers, were also known in the Dobrudja as "Russians," "Great Russians," or "Lipovans." Living primarily on fishing and agriculture, the numbers of the Nekrasovites were maintained and even augmented by the continuous arrival of more fugitive Old Believers. Although divided among themselves on religious issues, they tended to congregate in a few large villages, which in time became prosperous. These included Sarichioi (Sarĭköy) and Jurilovca on Lake Razelm (Razim); Slava Rusa (Kĭzĭl Hisar) near Babadag;

[8] Cf. Halil İnalcĭk, "Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlĭ İmperatorluğuna" [From Stefan Duşan to Ottoman Empire], in idem, *Fatih Devri üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* [Studies and documents on the age of the Conqueror] (Ankara, 1954), pp. 137–84; Robert Anheger, "Martolos," *Islâm Ansiklopedisi* (hereafter *IA*), 12 vols. (Istanbul, 1940–to date) 7: 341–44; M. Eugène Poujade, *Chrétiens et Turcs* (Paris, 1859), pp. 76–77; Paul Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid* (Paris, 1907), pp. 250–56 and ff.

[9] Hamilton Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West,* vol. 1, pt. 1 (Oxford, 1950), pp. 104–107.

[10] St. Romansky, *Carte ethnographique de la nouvelle Dobroudja Roumaine* (Sofia, 1915), pp. 27–28; Philip Longworth, *The Cossacks* (New York, 1970), p. 164.

Camêna (Karkali) near Măcin; Ghindareşti (Ghizdar) near Hîrşova; and Tataritsa near Silistra. Nekrasovites also lived in the town of Tulcea.[11]

The other large group of Cossacks to find shelter in the Dobrudja were the Zaporozhians. In 1775, after the destruction of the original Zaporozhian Sich by the Russians, they were allowed by the Ottoman government to settle in the Danube delta in a number of villages including Chilia Veche (Eski Kilia) and Caraorman (Kara Orman). The Zaporozhians established their headquarters or *Sich* (also known as the *Zadunais'ka Sich*) with their traditional 38 *kuren*s in the Danube delta at Seimeny (Seimenii) until 1806 and then at Dunaiets (Dunavătu) from 1814 to 1828. No women were allowed at the Sich, but married Cossacks lived outside the main fort on their allotted tracts. The Zaporozhians elected their chief, who was called the *koshovyi otaman,* and other officers, including a judge, chancellor, aides-de-camp, flag-bearer, and an *otaman* for each *kuren'*. These Cossacks acted mainly as infantry and riverine fighters, since they had little artillery and almost no cavalry. They also maintained a monastery at Myrnopoian (Poiana Marûlui) near Kimnicu-Sarat in Moldavia. Several well-known chiefs were Andrii Liakh, who led the Zaporozhians to Turkey in 1775 and also Samiilo Kalynybolets'kyi (1806–1814), Semen Moroz (1817–1818), Ivan Huba (1821–1823), Vasyl Nezamaivs'kyi (1826–1827), and the last *koshovyi otaman,* Ostap Hladkyi (1827–1828). The Cossacks made a living from fishing, and many served as mercenaries in the Ottoman army and navy. The Zaporozhians spread more readily up the river basin and into the Dobrudja itself. Unlike the Nekrasovites, they were Orthodox and lived in small communities in a large number of villages together with other ethnic groups. The Zaporozhians were known also as "Little Russians," "Ukrainians," or simply "Cossacks." Because they engaged in the same occupations as the longer established and more prosperous Nekrasovites and competed with them, an intense hostility, occasionally erupting into major armed conflicts, existed between the two groups. It ended in 1814, when the Zaporozhian Cossacks expelled the

[11] J. J. Nacian, *La Dobroudja économique et sociale* (Paris, 1886), pp. 50–51; Eugène Pittard, *La Roumanie* (Paris, 1917), pp. 264–68; St. Romansky, "Le caractère ethnique de la Dobroudja," in A. Ichirkov et al., *La Dobroudja* (Sofia, 1918), pp. 190–92; Müstecib Ülküsal, *Dobruca ve Türkler* [Dobrudja and the Turks] (Ankara, 1966), p. 33.

Nekrasovites from Dunaiets' and established their *Sich,* which existed there until 1828.[12]

Information on the size of the Cossack population is sketchy. An 1837 report by the British ambassador in Istanbul, John Ponsonby, perhaps referring only to the Nekrasovites, states:

> About 150 years ago some Cossacks (Sectarian Christians) passed over to the south of the Danube abandoning the Russian territories in consequence of religious difficulties. They remained in faithful submission to the Sultan till the Russians after the [1828–29] war evacuated the provinces they occupied . . . and then the largest portion of the said Cossacks retreated with the Russians leaving only 15,000 souls behind them. . . .[13]

Poujade estimated that in the 1850s there were in the Dobrudja some 50,000 Zaporozhian Cossacks.[14] Other sources were more conservative. Iorga reported that in 1850 a traveler counted in the Dobrudja villages 747 Nekrasovite and 1,092 Zaporozhian families.[15] In 1876 the Nekrasovite population was estimated at 18,000 to 20,000 souls and that of the Zaporozhians at 1,000 to 1,200 families.[16] The Treaty of Berlin (1878) ceded to Romania northern Dobrudja, where most of the Cossack communities were located. In the year 1880, 8,250 Nekrasovites and 4,555 Zaporozhians were counted in this area.[17] In 1918, after Romania also acquired southern Dobrudja (1913), the Cossack population of the entire area was estimated at about 18,500

[12] Romansky, "Caractère ethnique," pp. 191–92; Poujade, *Chrétiens et Turcs,* pp. 408–409, fn.; Longworth, *Cossacks,* p. 228; W. E. D. Allen, *The Ukraine: A History* (New York, 1963), pp. 229, 259–60. Cf. F. Kondratovich (Fedir Vovk), "Zadunaiskaia Sech: Po mestnym vospominaniiam i rasskazam," *Kievskaia starina,* 1893, no. 1, pp. 27–60; no. 2, pp. 269–300; and no. 4, pp. 728–73; as well as in A. L. (Olexander Lazarevs'kyi), "Svedeniia o zadunaiskikh zaporozhtsakh," ibid., 1891, no. 9, pp. 295–99: P. A. Shafranov, "O vodvoreniiu v Rossiiu zaporozhskikh kazakov vozvrativshikhsia iz-za Dunaia v 1828 godu," in *Istoricheskie materialy iz arkhiva Ministerstva gosudarstvennykh imushchestv,* vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 208–237; S. Petliura, "Prychynok do istorii pereselennia turets'kykh zaporozhtsiv na Kuban'," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Shevchenka* 65 (1905): 1–11. I am indebted to George Gajecky and Frank Sysyn for providing me with this valuable information.

[13] *Foreign Office Papers,* Public Record Office, London (hereafter *FO*), 195/142, Ponsonby to Palmerston, 8 August 1837.

[14] Poujade, *Chrétiens et Turcs,* p. 260.

[15] N. Iorga, "La population de la Dobrogea vers la moitié du xixe siècle d'après un manuscrit récemment découvert," in N. Iorga et al., *La Dobrogea Roumaine* (Bucarest, 1919), p. 169; Aurel Decei, "Dobruca," *IA,* 3: 641.

[16] Abdolonyme Ubicini and Abel Jean Baptiste Pavet de Courteille, *État présent de l'empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1876), pp. 34–36.

[17] N. P. Comnène, *La Dobrogea: essai historique . . .* (Paris, 1918), p. 135.

Nekrasovites and 21,500 Zaporozhians.[18] It appears that during the nineteenth century the two groups together made up about ten per cent of the total population of the Dobrudja.[19]

The Ottoman authorities allowed the Cossacks to settle in the Dobrudja on condition that they perform guard duty and that in wartime they furnish the army with men and animals.[20] The Cossacks thus became part of the empire's irregular auxiliary forces. The Dobrudja Cossacks fought against the Russians in the war of 1787–92 and again in that of 1806–12. In the latter conflict, however, about 500 of them went over to the Russians and founded the Budjak Cossack force (*Budzhats'ke viis'ko*).[21] But it appears that the majority continued to serve the Ottomans faithfully. In 1817 several hundred of them were recruited to serve in the reformed Ottoman Danube flotilla and in 1821 Semen Moroz led the Zaporozhian Cossacks against Ypsilanti's Greek revolt in Moldavia.[22]

In addition to the Dobrudja and Danube, Cossack communities were independently established by the Ottomans also in two locations in Anatolia. Zaporozhian Cossacks were settled near the mouth of the Kizil River on the Black Sea coast. They had been followers of Mazepa who in the wake of the defeat at Poltava (1709) took refuge with him in Ottoman Bessarabia. They fought under Ottoman colors in the ensuing Ottoman-Russian War (1710–11), but following the Treaty of the Pruth (1711), they were resettled by the Ottoman authorities in Anatolia. In return for the Sultan's protection, in wartime they used to provide crews for Ottoman gun boats on the Danube.[23] A community of Nekrasovites was first established near Anapa. But after this area was ceded to Russia by the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), they were resettled by the Ottomans in western Anatolia near Bursa. Even less is known about this community, other than that it enjoyed communal autonomy and had certain military obligations to the Ottoman authorities. In 1876 the combined numbers of the two Anatolian communities

18 Romansky, "Caractère ethnique," p. 190.
19 Cf. Comnène, *La Dobrogea*, p. 135.
20 Nacian, *La Dobroudja*, pp. 47–50; Douglas Dakin, *The Unification of Greece, 1770–1923* (London, 1972), p. 37.
21 Allen, *The Ukraine*, p. 260; Longworth, *The Cossacks*, pp. 368–69, fn. 6; P. P. Korolenko, *Kubanskii sbornik*, vol. 8 (Katerynoslav, 1902).
22 Mehmed Ataullah Şanizade, *Tarih-i Şanizade* [Şanizade's History], 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1290–1291/1873–1874), 3: 22–25; Longworth, *The Cossacks*, pp. 368–69, fn. 6; Kondratovich, "Zadunaiskaia Sech," pp. 270–81.
23 Colonel Rottiers, *Itinéraire de Tiflis à Constantinople* (Brussels, 1829), pp. 271–74.

were estimated at 24,000 to 30,000 persons. The Zaporozhians were described as "more numerous."[24]

The induction of the Dobrudja Cossacks into the regular Ottoman armed forces was primarily due to the personal experience and efforts of one Benderli Mehmed Selim Sĭrrĭ Paşa. Born in Bender at about 1773, Benderli Selim was a military man who gained considerable renown during the 1806–1812 war. Following the war he carried out a number of military assignments in support of the centralizing policies of Sultan Mahmud II. In September 1819 he was rewarded by being appointed governor of the province of Silistra. He served in that capacity for five years, until September 1824, when he was summoned to the capital to assume the highest appointed office in the realm, that of grand vezir.[25] As governor of Silistra, and possibly even earlier, Benderli Selim had come to appreciate the martial qualities of the Dobrudja Cossacks.

Meanwhile the Greek uprising which had broken out in 1821 cut off the Ottoman navy from its traditional resources of sailors in the Aegean islands and coastal districts. To offset these losses as well as to provide for the modernization and expansion of the navy, in 1824 the Ottoman government embarked on a massive recruitment of sailors from other areas. As part of this policy and at the initiative of the Grand Vezir, five hundred Cossacks from the Dobrudja were enrolled in the Ottoman navy.[26] Their numbers included a priest and translators, and they arrived in Istanbul in February 1825. They were assigned good salaries. Their chief and priest received one hundred *kuruş* each per month. Standardbearers and translators received fifty, and the men twenty-five *kuruş* each. The Imperial Arsenal issued

[24] Ubicini and de Courteille, *État présent,* pp. 34–36. This source estimates the total number of the Cossack population in the Ottoman empire in 1876 at 30,000 to 35,000. But it excludes from this figure the Nekrasovites of the Dobrudja who are separately estimated at 18,000 to 20,000 souls (see above). The Zaporozhians of the Dobrudja are estimated at 1,000 to 1,200 families. If we deduct this last figure from the total, the estimate for the two Anatolian Cossack communities would be 24,000 to 30,000 persons.

[25] Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani* [Ottoman Biographical Register], 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1308–1311/1890–1893), 3: 60–61.

[26] The Ottoman chronicles on which this account is based (see fn. 27) identify these men only as *kazak,* or Cossacks. In view, however, of the small size of the Cossack communities in the Dobrudja, it is unlikely that the Zaporozhians would have been taxed twice to furnish men for both the navy and the army for a total of close to 1,000 persons. Since the recruits demanded later for the cavalry were clearly identified in official documents as *Potkalĭ kazaklarĭ,* I venture to assume that these were Nekrasovites.

each of the men a musket and a saber, a fact suggesting that they were enlisted as combatants.[27] Four years later the traveler Adolphus Slade met sixty of these Cossacks aboard the battleship Selimiye. Among the other members of the crew, consisting of some one thousand and four hundred, they were "remarkable by their fair hair and sheep-skin caps . . . . They were tall, stout, quiet men, and lived apart from the others . . . , they ate olives, bread, and rice, twice a day with apparent content . . . only two of them spoke Turkish."[28]

Thus, when in the fall of 1826, the Ottoman government finally decided to establish the first modern cavalry regiment in one of the provinces, it was again at the urging of Grand Vezir Benderli Selim that Silistra was selected and the Zaporozhian Cossacks were enlisted to take part in this new venture. The formation of the regiment was to be carried out by the incumbent governor, Ahmed Paşa, who had served as Benderli Selim's lieutenant while the latter was governor of Silistra.[29] The government first consulted Ahmed Paşa on the subject and a draft of the regulation outlining the organization of the new cavalry was dispatched to him. Ahmed Paşa studied the proposal, made his own recommendations, and returned the documents to Istanbul, where they were approved by the Grand Vezir's council and, finally, by the Sultan himself, thereby becoming an Imperial Rescript (*Hatt–ĭ Hümayun*). As a result the founding regulation of the first modern cavalry regiment became law on, or about, 16 November 1826.[30] The text of the regulation and a full translation are appendixes

[27] Mehmed Esad, *Tarih-i Esad* [Esad's History], vol. 1 (MS, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, Esad Efendi Collection, Y 2084), pp. 296b–297a; Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* [Cevdet's History], 12 vols. (Istanbul, 1301/1883), 12: 122.

[28] Adolphus Slade, *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece . . .* , 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1833), 1: 97.

[29] Ahmed Paşa's sketchy biography credits him with the suppression of the Greek uprising in Moldavia in 1821, suggesting thereby another link with the Cossacks who had participated in that campaign. Following his successful operation against the Greeks, he was promoted to the rank of *mirmiran* and became commandant of Rusçuk and later governor of the province of Silistra. Subsequently he seemed to have had a checkered career. In 1828 he was demoted and dismissed. However in 1245 A.H. (3 July 1829–21 June 1830) he was promoted to the rank of *vezir* and appointed governor of Salonica. But in the following year he was once again demoted and dismissed and no longer held administrative office (Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani,* 1: 290–91).

[30] The text of this regulation and related documents are found in *BBA, Kanunname-i Askeri Defterleri* [Registers of military regulations] (hereafter *KAD*), vol. 1, pp. 26–36, 71–75; vol. 6, pp. 14b–20a; *Mâliyeden Müdevver Defterleri* [Registers of financial records] (hereafter *MMD*), vol. 9002, pp. 41–46; Istanbul University Library (hereafter *IUL*), MS no. TY 5824, pp. 26a–38b. Some details

to this article. The discussion which follows highlights the regulation's main points and their significance within the historical context.

In general, the organization of the Silistra cavalry followed closely the patterns set for the new infantry regiments being then established at various provincial centers. However there were a number of striking differences. Unlike the infantry regiments where the officer cadres had been sent from Istanbul, the officers for the Silistra cavalry regiment were to be recruited locally. Furthermore, the officers were to be drawn from the three ethnic groups which constituted the regiment in proportion, more or less, to the number of men recruited from each group.

The regiment's first colonel was Mehmed Emin ağa, former notable (*ayan*) of Mangalia, a small town on the Black Sea. The Tatars made up the right wing of the regiment. The posts of major and adjutant-major of the right wing were therefore assigned to two of their chiefs (*mirza*s). The left wing was made up of Turks and Cossacks in equal numbers. The ranks of major and adjutant-major of that wing were occupied by Turks. The troop companies, however, consisted of only one ethnic group, either Turks or Cossacks. Troop officers up to the rank of captain were therefore members of their respective groups. The Turkish troops were assigned *imâm*s and the Cossacks, priests (*râhib*s). But the Cossack companies were also granted a certain amount of administrative autonomy within the left wing under a special officer called Chief of Cossacks (*Kazak Başĭ*), who himself was a Muslim. the first to hold this rank was a certain Ali Koç Ağa. One regimental clerk was appointed by joint action of the governor and the colonel. In addition, matters of financial administration were supervised by a commissary officer who acted as the agent of the Army Superintendent in Istanbul and was responsible to him.

In spite of the peculiarities of the Silistra-based unit, its organization was intended to serve as a model for the establishment of other cavalry regiments. The regiment's complement was set at 1,323 officers and men, of which the Cossacks had to furnish 329 (see Table 1, pp. 381–82, below). The regiment consisted of two wings of six troops each. Each troop had a complement of 109 officers and men. In peacetime the troopers were required to serve on active duty only four months a year

are found also in *Tarih-i Lutfi*, 1: 196. The date 16 November 1826 was established here for practical convenience. The regulation itself, following Ottoman administrative practice, bears the date "the middle decade of the month of *Rebiülâhir*," 1242 to the Islamic Era, corresponding to 12–21 November 1826.

Table 1

ORGANIZATION OF THE SILISTRA CAVALRY REGIMENT (*TERTÎB*) BY THE REGULATION OF 16 NOVEMBER 1826

Rank	No. of Men	Monthly Salary* per Person in kuruş	Daily Rations** per Person: Bread (loaves)	Meat (dirhems)	Barley (okkas)	Straw (okkas)
Regimental Officers						
Colonel (*Binbaşî*)	1	750 (750)	8	800	8	16
Clerk (*Kâtib*)	1	150 (150)	—	—	—	—
Officers & Men of the Right Wing: Tatars — Six Troops						
Major (*Kol Ağasî*)	1	250 (400)	4	400	6	12
Adjutant Major (*Kol Ağasî Mülâzimi*)	1	125 (250)	3	100	2	4
Captain (*Yüzbaşî*)	6	100 (180)	3	200	4	8
Lieutenant (*Yüzbaşî Mülâzimi*)	12	70 (120)	3	100	2	4
Standard-bearer (*Sancakdar*)	6	50 (100)	3	100	2	4
Sergeant (*Çavuş*)	12	50 (60)	3	100	2	4
Corporal (*Onbaşî*)	60	20 (30)	3	100	2	4
Trooper (*Nefer*)	540	15 (20)	3	100	2	4
Imâm	4	30 (60)	3	100	2	4
Waterbearer (*Sakkâ*)	6	25 (20)	3	100	2	4
Chief Bugler (*Boruzen Başî*)	1	60 (60)	3	100	2	4
Bugler (*Boruzen*)	12	30 (20)	3	100	2	4
Officers & Men of the Left Wing: Turks — Three Troops						
Major (*Kol Ağasî*)	1	250 (400)	4	400	6	12
Adjutant Major (*Kol Ağasî Mülâzimi*)	1	125 (250)	3	100	2	4
Captain (*Yüzbaşî*)	3	100 (180)	3	200	4	8
Lieutenant (*Yüzbaşî Mülâzimi*)	6	70 (120)	3	100	2	4
Standard-Bearer (*Sancakdar*)	3	50 (100)	3	100	2	4
Sergeant (*Çavuş*)	6	50 (60)	3	100	2	4
Corporal (*Onbaşî*)	30	20 (30)	3	100	2	4

Trooper (*Nefer*)	270	15 (20)	3	100	2	4
Imâm	2	30 (60)	3	100	2	4
Water-Bearer (*Sakkâ*)	3	25 (20)	3	100	2	4
Chief Bugler (*Boruzen Başĭ*)	1	60 (60)	3	100	2	4
Bugler (*Boruzen*)	6	30 (20)	3	100	2	4
Cossacks — Three Troops						
Chief of Cossacks (*Kazak Başĭ*)***	1	150 (—)	6 [?]	200	4	8
Captain (*Yüzbaşĭ*)	3	100 (180)	3	100	2	4
Lieutenant (*Yüzbaşĭ Mülâzimi*)	6	70 (120)	3	100	2	4
Standard-Bearer (*Sancakdar*)	3	50 (100)	3	100	2	4
Sergeant (*Çavuş*)	6	50 (60)	3	100	2	4
Corporal (*Onbaşĭ*)	30	20 (30)	3	100	2	4
Trooper (*Nefer*)	270	15 (20)	3	100	2	4
Water-Bearer (*Sakkâ*)	3	25 (20)	3	100	2	4
Priest (*Râhib*)	2	25 (—)	3	100	2	4
Bugler (*Boruzen*)	6	30 (20)	3	100	2	4

* Salary paid to members of the Silistra regiment when on active duty. The numbers in parentheses indicate the salaries of men serving in regular infantry regiments and holding equal rank.

** Ration units have been standardized in this table. In the regulation, rations were generally listed by weight, with the exception of bread. An *okka* had 400 *dirhems*. A *dirhem* was equal to 3.2 grams and thus an *okka* to 1,280 grams. Bread rations were sometimes listed in pairs (*çift*) of loaves and sometimes in *okka*s. The standard weight of a loaf of bread was said to be 100 *dirhem*s and a "pair" was equal, therefore, to one-half of an *okka*.

*** The Chief of Cossacks was the only Muslim in this subdivision.

in rotation, so that at all times there would be present for active duty at least four cavalry companies. The regulation sought to encourage troopers to continue to serve on active duty beyond the mandatory four-month term. When not on duty the trooper was considered to be on active reserve, ready to respond to a call for arms at a moment's notice. In wartime, the regiment had to be completely mobilized for the duration of the war. Only the Colonel, the two majors, and the Chief of Cossacks were considered full-time members of the staff and received military pay and rations throughout the year. All other officers and men received their full salaries, in general considerably lower than those of equal rank in the regular infantry, only when on active duty (see Table 1 above). When they returned to their villages

they continued to draw half their monthly salaries but no rations. However, the water-bearers and buglers received higher salaries than the infantry, presumably because of greater responsibility. Only the colonel and the majors received full army rations; all other men received only bread and meat, although, in compensation, their bread rations were three, instead of the usual two, loaves per day. These were some of the economy measures intended to keep down the costs of operating and maintaining the regiment.

The Cossacks received the same salaries as their Muslim equals in the regiment, except for the priests who were assigned only 25 *kuruş* per month, as compared to 30 *kuruş* for the Muslim *imâms*. The Cossack captains received the same salary, but only half the meat, barley, and straw rations of their Muslim equals. The Cossacks were allowed to wear their distinctive headgear, the *kalpak,* a black sheepskin cap, while the Muslim members of the regiment wore the *şubara,* a round-crowned cap made of blue broadcloth. In addition, a number of items of the Cossacks' uniforms, although identical in form to those of their Muslim equals, were supposed to be of inferior quality. For example, the breeches of a Muslim captain were to be manufactured of broadcloth while those of a Cossack captain only of serge. More significant was the fact that the regulation barred Cossacks from rising to ranks above that of troop captain and they could not hope to command mixed formations. Even the post of Chief Bugler in the left wing was always held by a Muslim.

Among other departures from previous organizational practices, reflecting again the spirit of economy, was the reduction in the ratio of clergymen. Hitherto each infantry company was assigned one chaplain, but in the Silistra regiment two chaplains were to serve three companies. Also saddlers and blacksmiths were not assigned to the regiment on a regular basis. These services were to be rendered by outside craftsmen and their expenses were to be met by the commissary officer in Silistra.

The men enrolled had to be between the ages of fifteen and thirty, healthy, fit for milirary service, and unmarried. A special exception was made in the case of the Tatars, among whom 150 men out of the total 661 could be married. Each ethnic group was responsible for maintaining, as a communal obligation, the full complement allotted as its share in the regiment. Upon the death or retirement of a trooper the chiefs of the Tatar and Cossack communities were required to find replacements. The governor was to exercise the same responsibility in

regard to the Turkish personnel. A fixed assessment of recruits was to be imposed on each village or community, which also was to supply a horse and one complete set of riding gear for every man. The Turkish and Cossack communities were paid by the government 150 *kuruş* for every horse, complete with saddle set, once only. After that, the village or community was to be responsible for supplying the same number of horses and saddles without further compensation. Since in Istanbul, the price of a saddle set alone — without horse — was calculated at 125 *kuruş* per unit,[31] one has some idea about the scope of the savings which the government expected to realize by establishing the first cavalry regiment in Silistra. Furthermore, the Tatars were required to furnish their horses and riding gear without any compensation at all.

While the trooper was on reserve at home, the village was responsible for keeping his horse ready for duty. Every tour of duty had to take place at Silistra, where special accommodations were built, or in various guard duties assigned by the governor. Upon completion of their tours of duty, the men had to return their weapons. Their uniforms were also to be returned, in clean and good condition. A note bearing the man's name was attached to the uniform, and it was to be kept in a special warehouse for the man's next tour of duty. But this last arrangement proved unworkable. Consequently, in June 1827, at the request of Ahmed Paşa, governor of Silistra, and with the approval of army headquarters, this practice was changed. Henceforth the troopers had to return their weapons only, and were allowed to go home with their uniforms.[32] The cavalry's uniforms were similar to those of the infantry. The main items consisted of a short jacket, a pair of oriental breeches, and a sash. The notable exception was the black leather riding boots equipped with spurs. Since under normal conditions the men of this regiment served only four months a year, they were to be issued new uniforms only once every other year instead of once a year, as with the full-time regiments. The troopers were armed with a carbine, pistols, and a broad crooked falchion.[33]

The organization of the Silistra regiment was completed within several months. In November 1827 two hundred troopers were

[31] *BBA, KAD,* 1: 51.
[32] *BBA, KAD,* 1: 36.
[33] In addition to the sources cited above, descriptions of uniforms and arms are found in: *Archives de la Guerre* (hereafter *AG*), Paris, MR 1619, no. 39; Charles MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828* (London, 1829), p. 351.

brought to Istanbul to be instructed in the new cavalry drill, and on the thirteenth of that month they were reviewed by the sultan at the Davud Paşa barracks.[34] Meanwhile, however, early in 1827 the Ottoman government, discarding earlier considerations, decided to establish a regular cavalry regiment in Istanbul, and an imperial rescript to that effect was issued on February 1.[35] For reasons of economy, however, this regiment was to have at first only some two hundred horses, enough for two troops. The establishment of the Istanbul regiment, with its anticipated expenses calculated and incorporated in its founding regulation, afford an opportunity to examine — in part, at least — to what extent the financial considerations leading to the establishment of the Silistra regiment had been justified. An exact comparison is not possible since the Istanbul regiment had a larger complement, due to the addition of artillery elements. Also it was to serve on a regular, full-time basis, while members of the Silistra regiment normally served four months a year, although they were expected to be fully prepared for combat. Still, the comparison below strongly suggests that by establishing the Silistra regiment, the government brought into existence a military force at relatively low cost, at least from a bookkeeper's perspective. The figures in Table 2 (p. 386) for the Istanbul regiment represent anticipated annual costs for the maintenance of 1,581 officers and men, calculated on or about 1 February 1827.[36] The figures for the Silistra regiment represent actual annual maintenance costs, or a close approximation of these costs, calculated for 1,321 officers and men on or about 14 April 1828.[37]

Meanwhile in the summer of 1827 the infantry organization had been further modernized and now the cavalry, too, had to undergo modifications to conform to the new infantry regulation. These changes, considered during the winter months when a new war with

[34] *BBA, KAD,* 1: 71; Hĭzĭr İlyas, *Vekâyĭ-ĭ Letâif-i Enderun* [Chronicle of Pleasantries of the Palace Service] (Istanbul, 1276/1859), p. 419.

[35] The text of the founding regulation of the Istanbul cavalry regiment dated 4 *Receb* 1242/1 February 1827, is found in *BBA, KAD,* 1: 45–52, and 4: 25a–30a; *MMD,* 9002: 59–64; IUL, MS. TY 5824, pp. 50a–62a.

[36] The actual complement as established by the founding regulation was 1,582 officers and men. However, a clerical error, so common in Ottoman bookkeeping, resulted in the adoption of the lesser figure.

[37] *BBA, KAD,* 1: 71–73 dated 29 *Ramazan* 1243/14 April 1828. It will be recalled that the actual complement of the Silistra regiment called for 1,323 officers and men, including also a physician and a surgeon. The salaries of the latter two had not been established, and in effect, at that time most provincial regiments did not have regular physicians and surgeons on their staffs. The absence of these two explains the adoption of the smaller figure.

Table 2
ANNUAL COSTS IN *KURUŞ* FOR
MAINTAINING A CAVALRY REGIMENT

	*Istanbul**	*Silistra***
Salaries	634,884	315,000
Provisions (for men and animals)	680,126	285,366
Uniforms	268,770	116,481
TOTALS	1,583,780	716,847

* Estimate for 1,581 officers and men. Source: *BBA, KAD,* 1: 45–52 (4 *Receb* 1242/1 February 1827).
** Actual costs for 1,321 officers and men. Source: *BBA, KAD,* 1: 71–73 (29 *Ramazan* 1243/14 April 1828.)

Russia seemed increasingly imminent, resulted in plans to raise the army's strength in general, including the forces based at Silistra. Consequently, the regulation which went into effect on 14 April 1828 required that Silistra now provide instead of one regiment of 1,323 officers and men, two cavalry battalions (*tabur*s) of 884 troopers each. This was to be accomplished by breaking up the original regiment and enrolling some 450 additional men. Apparently there had been some difficulties in recruiting Tatars, for their ratio in the new organization was reduced, while that of the Turks increased. The proportion of Cossacks remained the same, but they now had to provide more officers and men, 436 instead of 329. One battalion now consisted of Turks only and was commanded by a Turkish officer. The other was made up of Tatars and Cossacks in equal numbers and was commanded by a Tatar.[38]

Under the new regulation, the number of Cossack priests was reduced from two to one. But the marked distinction of the reorganization was a further gradation of ranks in closer accord with the contemporary French system (see Table 3 below). Each battalion had six expanded troops. The salaries and Turkish titles of the two senior grades remained the same, that is, *binbaşĭ* and *kol ağasĭ.* But now they were understood to be equal to those of the French major and adjutant-major, respectively. As of 1830, however, following the western practice, a cavalry battalion (*tabur*) was redesignated a regiment and referred to in Turkish as *alay*. Its strength and organization,

[38] *BBA, KAD,* 1: 71–73; *MMD,* 9002: 107.

however, remained exactly the same as before, 884 officers and men divided into six troops. But now its commanding officer was raised to the rank of colonel, renamed in Turkish *miralay*.[39]

The Silistra cavalry fought in the 1828–29 war with Russia, but some of the Cossacks defected to the enemy during the early stages of the 1828 campaign. As a result the Cossack troops were transferred from the European front to Istanbul and later to Anatolia. Following the war the two Silistra regiments were placed on a regular full-time footing and as of June 1830 the salaries and service conditions of their personnel were improved to equal those of the regular Istanbul cavalry. The new regulation, however, no longer lists the posts of Chief of Cossacks and Priest, as Table 3 (pp. 388–89) shows, possibly suggesting the decline of the Cossack contingent.[40]

In 1830 the Istanbul-based cavalry was transferred to the Corps of the Imperial Guards (*Asâkir-i Hâssa-yĭ Şâhane*) and its strength expanded to four regiments. Throughout the 1830s, the two Silistra regiments served as the principal regular cavalry attached to the Troops of the Line (*Asâkir-i Mansûre*). The governors of Silistra

[39] *BBA, MMD*, 9002: 39, 42 fn.; *Takvîm-i Vekâyĭ* [Calendar of Events; official government journal], no. 1 (25 *Cemâzĭelevvel* 1247/2 November 1831).

[40] *BBA, KAD*, 1: 74–75, regulation dated 13 *Muharrem* 1246/4 July 1830, establishing the new organization as of 1 *Muharrem* 1246/22 June 1830. Also in *MMD*, 9002: 39, 160. Cf. *Tarih-i Lutfi*, 1: 306. Georg Wilhelm von Valentini, *Traité sur la guerre contre les Turcs* (tr. L. Blesson; Berlin, 1830), pp. 224–25; Édouard Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1882–84), 1: 89. Poujade, *Chrétiens et Turcs*, p. 409, states that the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) obligated the Ottoman Empire to desist from granting the Cossacks a separate administration and from uniting them in one military contingent. However, an examination of the text of the treaty and that of the two simultaneous separate acts (Gabriel Noradounghian, ed., *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, 4 vols. [Paris, 1897–1903], 2: 166–77; Clive Parry, ed., *The Consolidated Treaty Series* [New York, 1969], 88: 84–96), does not confirm Poujade's statement. However, article 3 of the treaty transferred all the islands of the Danube delta from Ottoman to Russian possession. It further stipulated that all the islands were to remain unpopulated, together with the territory remaining in Ottoman possession on the right bank of the Saint George branch of the delta up to a "two hour distance" from the river. This must have had a bearing on the Cossack communities in the delta region, and by extension on their cavalry contingent. Indeed, an examination of the regimental officer list included in army rolls specifically prepared for the sultan (*Topkapĭ Saray Archives*, Istanbul no. E-119/12, p. 44b, dated 15 *Muharrem* 1254/10 April 1838) does not yield one Slavic name among the officers. In addition, the list indicates that the regiment's actual strength was 309 men short of its required complement (the Cossacks had been required to provide 436 officers and men; see above). While allowances could be made that for the purpose of this list Cossack officers have adopted, or been assigned, Muslim names, the evidence appears to suggest that following the 1828–1829 war, the Cossack contingent declined, although it was still mentioned by later sources.

Table 3

ORGANIZATION OF A SILISTRA CAVALRY BATTALION (*TABUR*)/REGIMENT (*ALAY*) BY THE REGULATION OF 16 MARCH 1828

Rank	*Number of Men*	*Monthly Salary per Man (in Kuruş)* 1828	1830*
Major (*Binbaşî*)/Colonel (*Miralay*)	1	750	1200
Adjutant Major (*Kol Ağa*)	2	250	400
Clerk (*Kâtib*)	2	150	200
Imâm	2	30	75
Standard-Bearer (*Sancakdar*)	3	50	90
Sergeant of Buglers (*Çavuş-u Boru*)	1	60	60
Water-Bearer (*Sakkâ*)	3	25	25
Captain (*Yüzbaşî*)	6	100	200
Subcaptain (*Yüzbaşî Vekîli*)	6	85**	150
First Lieutenant (*Mülâzim-i Evvel*)	6	70	120
Sub First Lieutenant (*Mülâzim-i Evvel Vekîli*)	6	60**	100
Second Lieutenant (*Mülâzim-i Sâni*)	6	70	120
Sub Second Lieutenant (*Mülâzim-i Sâni Vekîli*)	6	60**	100
Sergeant (*Çavuş*)	24	50	50
Sub Sergeant (*Çavuş Vekîli*)	24	35**	40
Corporal (*Onbaşî*)	48	20	36
Sub Corporal (*Onbaşî Vekîli*)	48	17.5**	30
Bugler (*Boruzen*)	12	30	30
Horseshoe smith (*Nalebend*)	6	40**	60
Trooper (*Nefer*)	672	15	24
TOTAL	884		

The battalion including Cossack troopers listed also the following:

Chief of Cossacks (*Kazak Başî*)	1	150	—
Priest (*Râhib*)	1	25	—

Each troop had the following organization:

Captain	1
Sub Captain	1
First Lieutenant	1
Sub First Lieutenant	1

Second Lieutenant	1
Sub Second Lieutenant	1
Sergeants	4
Sub Sergeants	4
Corporals	8
Sub Corporals	8
Buglers	2
Horseshoe smiths	1
Troopers	112
TOTAL	145

* Salary increases by the regulation of 4 July 1830
** New Rank

continued to be responsible for maintaining this force.[41] In addition, Ottoman cavalry at that period included twelve regiments of reformed feudal (*timarlĭ*) troopers as well as irregular horsemen.[42]

At some point in the early 1840s, possibly in connection with the military reorganization of 1843, the Nekrasovites of the Bursa district were also enrolled in a regular cavalry regiment.[43] During the Crimean War the Cossack contingents fought against the Russians on the Asiatic front.[44] In addition, according to Poujade, a new Cossack contingent was formed at the beginning of the Crimean War, at the initiative of Michał Czajkowski, a Polish noble and literary figure who had come to Istanbul in 1841 to promote the cause of Poland's independence. In 1850 he adopted Islam and became known as Sadik Paşa. At the outbreak of the war Czajkowski convinced the Ottoman government to form a Cossack regiment recruited from the Nekrasovite population of the Dobrudja. In addition, the unit included volunteer Poles as well as Bulgarians, and its insignia was said to consist of "a union of a cross and crescent." The regiment had a strength of 600 officers and men and saw action at the Silistra sector of the front under Czajkowski's command. Czajkowski continued to command this regiment until 1863.[45]

41 *AG,* MR 1619, nos. 58–60; *Topkapĭ Saray Archives,* Istanbul no. E–119/12.
42 *BBA, MMD,* 9002: 117–18, 163–64; *Cevdet-Askeri* [Cevdet's military documents collection], no. 673.
43 Ubicini and de Courteille, *État présent,* p. 36.
44 W. E. D. Allen and Paul Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 95 and fn.
45 Poujade, *Chrétiens et Turcs,* pp. 413–17. In 1873 Czajkowski returned to Russia and settled in the Ukraine, where he afterwards committed suicide. *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1963), 2: 683–84. I am grateful to Michael Steinlauf for translating the last source for me.

In 1876, Ubicini, a generally reliable source, listed among the regular Ottoman forces two Cossack regiments of four squadrons each with a total complement of 1,040 officers and men.[46] These units were then attached to the First Army Corps (Imperial Guards) with headquarters in Istanbul.[47] Although the Cossacks might have lent their name to those units, a memorandum by Foreign Minister Fuad Paşa of May 1867 indicates that they actually served in "mixed regiments . . . consisting of Muslims and Christians."[48] By the Treaty of Berlin (1878) the Ottoman empire ceded the Dobrudja to Romania and Bulgaria. The statistical evidence available (see above) suggests that the Cossack communities largely remained in their districts, thereby passing out of the Ottoman orbit. For this, as well as other reasons, it is likely that the Cossack regiments were disbanded during the early years of Abdulhamid II's reign (1876–1909).[49]

As of the 1840s, small numbers of non-Muslim subjects of the Sultan were enrolled in the regular Ottoman armed forces. But their admission differed from that of the Cossacks in two important respects. First, they were recruited as individuals and not as a group serving in their own distinctive units under their own officers. Second, with the exception of the navy, they generally served in non-combatant capacities, such as army doctors and engineers.[50] In fact, in the late 1830s, when the Ottoman government first became concerned that its military recruitment policies were overtaxing the Muslim population, it seriously considered a number of proposals intended to alleviate the problem by establishing within the army separate minority units of Christians, especially Armenians. However, all these projects were finally rejected,[51] for considerations of state, one may assume, rather

[46] Ubicini and de Courteille, *État présent,* p. 179.
[47] Ubicini and de Courteille, *État présent,* pp. 180–81.
[48] "Il existe . . . dans l'armée Ottomane deux régiments de Cosaques mixtes, c'est-à-dire composés de musulmans et de chrétiens." Ubicini and de Courteille, *État présent,* p. 252. Fuad Paşa mentioned this fact to disprove the often-repeated claim that Muslim prejudice precluded Ottoman Christians from military service.
[49] Captain M. C. P. Ward, *Handbook of the Turkish Army,* prepared in the Intelligence Division of the War Office (London, 1900), does not list the Cossack regiments. Also, Fesch, *Constantinople,* which has a separate chapter (pp. 247–66) dedicated to the subject "Les Chrétiens et le service militaire," does not refer to Cossack military service during the reign of Abdulhamid.
[50] In addition to Fesch, a discussion of this question is found in Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876* (Princeton, N.J., 1963), pp. 95–96 and ff.
[51] *BBA, Hatt-ı Hümayunlar* [Imperial Rescripts collection], nos. 48355, 48371,

than principle. The experience of the Cossack contingents therefore remains unique in Ottoman annals. Their contribution to the modernization of the Ottoman military was considerable and totally disproportionate to the small size of the Cossack communities.

The Cossack experience and especially the terms of enrollment of the Zaporozhians, as recorded in the appended document, are instructive with regard to several aspects of Ottoman statecraft. It is customary to think of the Ottoman empire of that age as highly bureaucratic, traditional, and, therefore, rigid. Yet, the example of the Silistra regiment, from the moment of the idea's inception through the various stages of its implementation, reveals a remarkable measure of flexibility, certainly at the policy-making level. This is witnessed in the degree of close cooperation and interaction between the center and a fairly distant provincial capital and the uninhibited flow of information and ideas, resulting in the shaping of policies and institutions which, though unique for that province, bore the unmistakable imprint of the center. Another striking aspect is the level of pragmatic considerations allowed to influence policy making. The document demonstrates that while in theory Ottoman policy was predicated on religious principles, its actual application was determined by practical considerations of state interests. In its introductory paragraphs, the Imperial Rescript dutifully declares the government's devotion to religious fundamentals and to the advancement of the cause of Islam. However, if to attain those ends it would be helpful to enroll infidel soldiers, and, for their spiritual well-being, also chaplains — so be it! This, apparently, did not constitute an insurmountable contradiction, not only for the "lay" members of the army command and civilian bureaucracy, but also for those religious functionaries who were directly charged with assisting in the regulation's implementation.

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48380, 48380 A, 48380 B. Also cf. Helmuth von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835 bis 1839* (Berlin, 1841), pp. 354–55.

APPENDIX I

TRANSLATION OF THE FOUNDING REGULATION OF THE SILISTRA CAVALRY REGIMENT OF 16 NOVEMBER 1826

Introductory Note: The following translation was prepared from the text found on pp. 27–36 of volume 1 of the collection known as Registers of Military Regulations (*Kanunname-i Askeri Defterleri*; hereafter *KAD*) located at the Prime Minister's Archives (*Başbakanlĭk Arşivi*; hereafter *BBA*) in Istanbul. The Ottoman text is attached, in fascimile form as Appendix 2, pp. 409–413. This register contains 131 pages of text numbered in sequence, as well as three pages of text which are not included in the main sequence. Each page measures 32 × 18.2 centimeters. The *KAD* collection consists of eight registers and is believed to have been originally kept in the Bureau of the Imperial Council (*Divan-ĭ Humayun Kalemi*), which served as the central chancery office responsible for preparing, and keeping the records of all decrees, edicts, and regulations, except those concerned with matters of financial administration.[1] Thus the present document formed part of the official legislative records of the state and must be considered as a most authentic text. The document itself lists those government offices where authorized copies were to be maintained, as follows: Bureau of the Imperial Council (the present text); the Accountancy Department (*Baş Muhâsebe*);[2] office of the General of the Army (*Bâb-i Ser Asker*); office of the Army Superintendent (*Asâkir-i Mansûre Nâziri*).[3] In addition, a copy of the regulation was to be sent to the governor of Silistra, and from that document an official record was to be prepared and kept in the registers of the Silistra Court of Justice (*mahkeme*).[4]

[1] Midhat Sertoğlu, *Muhteva Bakĭmĭndan Başvekâlet Arşivi* [Directory to the Prime Minister's Archives] (Ankara, 1955), p. 14; Atilla Çetin, *Başbakanlĭk Arşivi Kĭlavuzu* [Guide to the Prime Minister's Archives] (Istanbul, 1979), p. 58. On the Bureau of the Imperial Council, see Bernard Lewis, "Dīwān-ī humāyūn," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (1954–to date; hereafter EI^2), 2: 337–39; Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789–1922* (Princeton, 1980), pp. 69–86 and ff.

[2] The Accountancy Department was part of the Finance Office (*Mâliye*) and kept records of receipts and expenditures. For details, see Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, 1, pt. 1: 132–33 and ff.; Mehmet Zeki Pakalĭn, *Osmanlĭ Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* [Dictionary of Ottoman Historical Expressions and Terms], 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1946–1953), 1: 168.

[3] The offices of the General of the Army and Army Superintendent were new, established in July 1826. The two were required to cooperate closely, but were, at that time, independent of each other, reporting directly to the Grand Vezir. Cf. Avigdor Levy, "The Officer Corps in Sultan Mahmud II's New Ottoman Army, 1826–1839," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2 (1971): 21–39; Bernard Lewis, "Bāb-i Ser Askerī," EI^2, 1: 838.

[4] The *mahkeme* was, of course, an Islamic religious court. However, in addition to the dispensation of justice, the courts played a central role in the provincial

I have located other copies of the regulation in *BBA, KAD*, 4: 14b–20a and in *BBA, Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri* (Registers of Financial Administration), 9002: 41–46. These registers could have been in use in offices of the central government listed above. In addition, I have located in Istanbul University Library a magnificently bound and decorated register listed as TY 5824. In 127 folios are recorded all the regulations concerning the new army issued between 1 *Zilhicce* 1241 and 12 *Şaban* 1242 (7 July 1826–11 March 1827). This register was acquired from the Yildiz Palace collection, and is believed to have been prepared for the personal use of Sultan Mahmud II. The text of the present regulations is found on pp. 26a–38b.

The Ottoman text is written in one of the "official" scripts used in government departments and known as *rik'a.* It was also commonly used by the literate public.[5] The lists at the latter part of the document contain accounting terms and symbols in a script known as *siyakat,* usually reserved for treasury accounts and documents.[6] The text of each page forms an almost perfect rectangle, leaving only narrow unused margins. This was probably done not only for aesthetic reasons, but also as a precautionary measure to discourage alterations in the text. At the lower left corner of every page, where the margin is somewhat wider, the copying clerk added the word *nibişte,* "written," to indicate the limit of the authorized text as an additional safeguard. The style is a fine example of contemporary official writing with intricately complex sentences and a generous measure of Arabic and Persian terms and phrases. However, it is relatively free of ornate expressions.

Acknowledgement: The translation has greatly benefitted from the thoughtful comments, criticism and advice of Professors Halil İnalcĭk and Ezel Kural Shaw, to whom I express my gratitude.

Text of the Imperial Rescript:[7]

The present organization plan, in order to be implemented in conformity with God's Will, let it be appended, in its entirety, to the code of regulations of the Victory-Granted Army[8] [located] in the Bureau of our Imperial Council

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administration. Among their functions was the maintenance of records of all edicts and regulations pertaining to their province. Cf. Halil İnalcĭk, "Mahkeme," *IA* 7: 149–51; Gy. Káldy-Nagy, "Ḳāḍī," *EI*², 4: 375.

5 Mahmud Yazĭr, *Eski Yazĭlarĭ Okuma Anahtarĭ* [Reading guide to old scripts] (hereafter *EYOA*) (Istanbul, 1942), pp. 140–43; Ali Alparslan, "Kh̲aṭṭ," *EI*², 4: 1125–26.

6 Yazĭr, *EYOA,* pp. 144–51; Alparslan, "Kh̲aṭṭ."

7 These words appear at the top of the page and are written in almost perpendicular fashion. They refer to the six lines immediately below them which, in the original document, had been written either by the Sultan himself or by his personal secretary. The Sultan's endorsement transformed the proposed bill into an Imperial Rescript (*Hatt-ĭ Humayun* or also *Hatt-ĭ Şerĭf*) carrying with it the force of law. Cf. Cengiz Orhonlu, "Kh̲aṭṭ-i Humāyūn," *EI*², 4: 1131.

8 The complete official name of the new army established in 1826 was *Muallem*

(*Divan-ĭ Hümayun Kalemi*). Let formal information be given to the Accountancy Department (*Baş Muhâsebe*), the General of the Army (*Ser Asker Paşa*) and his Superintendent (*Nâzir*). Whereas a copy is being sent also to the Governor (*Vâli*) of Silistra, let it be recorded in the register of the Silistra Court of Justice (*mahkeme*) and let the aforementioned Governor, the Colonel (*Binbaşĭ*) and [other] officials render continuous attention and supervision to its execution letter by letter.

[Entry no.] 11[9]

Aided with God's Providence, eight regiments of twelve thousand men of the Trained Muhammadan Victory-Granted Army — whose enrollment and formation as one army-corps have begun and are proceeding in Istanbul without delay — at present are about to be completed. In addition, numerous regiments have been opened without delay also in several localities in Rumeli and Anatolia and their numbers are increasing day by day. These infantry troops are at present engaged, at their respective localities, in thoroughly acquiring the requisites of drill and training, organization and discipline. Nevertheless, however proficient and numerous they may become, at wartime it is necessary that an appropriate number of trained cavalry troops be attached to them. Therefore, it has become necessary to form, henceforth, with His Providence, also a sufficient number of trained cavalry of the Victory-Granted Army in suitable localities. For that reason, it is an Imperial Command that a regiment[10] of one thousand three hundred and twenty-three cavalrymen and officers be enrolled, by means of the present Governor of Silistra, His Excellency El-Hâcc Ahmed Paşa, from the Tatar clans and Turkish young men in the environs of Silistra and from the Zaporozhian Cossacks (*Potkalĭ Kazaklarĭ*) in the districts of Babadag, Măcin, and

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Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammadiye, or the Trained Muhammadan Victory-Granted Army. Shorter appellations were commonly used. See below.

[9] Here begins the text of the regulation. Regulations and amendments were recorded in the present register in the order of their issuance. Each entry was assigned a serial number.

[10] The term used here for regiment is *tertib*. In the early stages of the military reforms some confusion prevailed with regard to the new formations, ranks, and terms. At first, in 1826, the basic tactical-administrative unit had been the regiment, *tertib*, with a complement varying from about 1300 to 1600 men. But in 1827 a reorganization established the smaller battalion as the basic tactical unit with a strength of about 800 men. The battalion was named *tabur* in Turkish and no distinction made between infantry and cavalry. The reorganization also provided for the grouping of three infantry battalions in one regiment with a strength of about 2,500 men. This new and larger regiment was known as *alay*. In 1830, however, following European practice, a cavalry battalion was redesignated a regiment and referred to in Turkish as *alay*, without increasing its strength. Cf. *BBA, KAD*, 2: 1a–1b (beginning *Muharrem* 1243/25 July 1827); *Tarih-i Lutfi*, 1: 256; *Takvîm-i vekâyĭ*, no. 1 (25 *Cemâzĭelevvel* 1247/2 November 1831).

Silistra. The former notable (*ayân*) of Mangalia, Mehmed Emin Ağa, is to be appointed Colonel (*Binbaşí*) over all of them and granted the honorary title of Imperial Equerry (*Hâssa Silahşorluk*). Whereas the [Tatar] clans are to form the military right wing, as is listed below, one of their chiefs (*mirza*) is to be selected as major of the right wing (*sağkol ağasí*); another suitable individual [is to become] adjutant-major (*sağkol mülâzimi*) and others of their chiefs [are to be appointed] captains (*yüzbaşí*). Others from their race [are to become] lieutenants (*mülâzim*), chaplains (*imâm*), standard-bearers (*sancakdar*), sergeants (çavuş), corporals (*onbaşí*) and buglers (*boruzen*). Whereas the Turkish group of young men and the Cossacks are to form together the left wing, trusted and experienced individuals from the Turkish young men [are to be appointed] over them as major of the left wing (*solkol ağasí*) and his adjutant; and similarly, captains, lieutenants, corporals, chaplains, sergeants, water-bearers, and buglers [are to be appointed]. Over the Cossack contingent, Ali Koç Ağa [is to be appointed] Chief of Cossacks (*Kazak Başí*); and from their own race [are to be appointed] captains, standard-bearers, sergeants, corporals, two priests (*râhib*) and bugler-privates. One clerk [is to be appointed] for the entire regiment. Appointments are to be made by means of the aforementioned Governor and Colonel through careful review and in conformity to the order listed below and [thus] recorded.

The necessary business concerning provisions, uniforms, and other administrative matters of these [troops] are to be supervised by means of the Agent (*Me'mûr*) of the Muhammadan Victory-Granted Army, who is at present in Silistra.

The requirements for the regular organization of cavalry troops intended, with His Grace, to be established henceforth also in other localities, are to be taken care of according to the appropriate conditions in each locality. At present, however, [p. 28] the modes of organization, enrollment, administration and service of one cavalry regiment consisting of these three groups are established as follows:

Conforming to the requirement of the Holy Law, the resolve to form this trained army derives only from the sincere desire to fulfill, as is proper, the fundamental religious principle of "confronting the enemies of Islam with their own means";[11] to learn well the details of the art of war through drill and training; and, when necessary, to be victorious over the enemies of Islam and exalt the Word of God.

[11] *Mukâbele bi-l-misl* — an Islamic legal principle permitting and advocating reciprocity in retaliation to an enemy. This principle was commonly invoked to justify western-inspired reforms necessary to defend the community of Islam against its infidel enemies. Cf. Uriel Heyd, "The Ottoman 'Ulemā and Westernization in the Time of Selīm III and Maḥmūd II," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 9 (1961): 63–96, specifically 74–77.

Whereas at present the required establishment of one thousand three hundred and twenty-three cavalrymen and officers of the Victory-Granted Army, enrolled by order from the Tatars, Turkish young men, and Cossack community in Silistra, has been entrusted in an exclusive capacity to the aforementioned governor of Silistra; and whereas His Excellency the General of the Army has unrestricted authority over the Victory-Granted Army in Istanbul and whatever he commands and prohibits is obeyed and remains in force; in like manner, whatever the aforementioned Governor commands and prohibits — whether it concerns the troops, or the Colonel and other officials — let it be obeyed and remain in force, although the organization plan is to be observed.

With the exception of the Colonel and Chief of Cossacks, appointed as recorded above, let all necessary officers and men be registered by means of the aforementioned Governor, the Colonel, the Agent and the Chief of Cossacks in the following manner. Those who are to become officers let them be courageous, brave, and capable of leadership. As for the enlisted men, let them be of known family stock, their ages from fifteen to, at most, thirty [years]; young, strong, and unmarried. Let attention and care be rendered not to enroll, under any circumstances, the base, those of unknown circumstances, the aged, and the disabled. However, of the six hundred and sixty-one men who are to be recruited from the Tatar clans, let it be permitted that one hundred and fifty be married.

In order that these troops [maintain their full complement] of six hundred and sixty-one men from the Tatar clans, three hundred and thirty-two men from the Turkish young men, and three hundred and thirty men from the Cossack community, the Tatar and Cossack troops are to be demanded as an obligation of their [respective communities] as a whole and [thus] are to be pressed into service. Whenever one of them dies or retires, or for whatever reason their number decreases — in their place others are to be immediately demanded from their [respective communities] and enrolled. Similarly, from the Turkish young men troops are to be enrolled as state chattel (*timur baş*), by means of the Governor, from the districts and villages of Silistra [province], from each locality according to its capability; for example, from a [given] village one, or two, or three cavalrymen [are to be enrolled]. The residents of that village are to provide each man with the necessary horse and a complete set of riding gear for the horse-price of one hundred and fifty *kuruş* which will be given this time [by the state]. The village residents are to maintain that horse when it returns to the village between one tour of duty and the next. Each man is always to be present and prepared, together with his horse. On these terms are to be enrolled and formed three hundred and thirty-two men divided between districts and villages.

The horses of the Tatar soldiers are to be provided at their own expense. The three hundred and thirty Cossack troops are to be given this time only, out

of compassion, the horse-price of one hundred and fifty *kuruş* per horse [p. 29]. Henceforth they themselves are always to maintain, in complete readiness, that number of horses as state chattel. At any time, whether for their regular tour of duty or when called upon by official order for an assignment, as may become necessary, [these troops] are immediately to mount their horses and assemble. [For that purpose] they are to be bound by strong bonds of surety (*te'ahhud ve kefâlet*). With His Grace and by means of the aforementioned [Governor], one thousand three hundred twenty-three cavalrymen and officers recruited from these three groups are to be enrolled and completed in a short time. Following that, they will be divided into three [teams] arranged for tours of duty of four months [at a time] so that about four hundred men serving on each tour of duty will stay, together with their officers, in Silistra in huts (*zemlik*) which will be constructed by means of the aforementioned [Governor]. They are to carry out patrol assignments, perform guard and sentry duty, and other services according to the orders of the aforementioned [Governor] in places designated by him. Attention is to be rendered that on their tours of duty or at other times [the troops] are always to be governed by respectability and good behavior and busy with drill and training. Let those who have completed their tour of duty be permitted to return [to their homes] only after the arrival in Silistra of another contingent which is to perform its tour of duty in their place.

Since every one hundred troops to be enrolled from the Tatar clans and the Turkish young men are to be considered as one company (*saff*), it is necessary to appoint one chaplain (*imâm*) to each company. Therefore, by means of the Kâdî of Silistra and the Town Muftî, official chaplains are to be appointed, through examination and selection, to every company. Let the chaplains, and all the officers, pay attention that the aforementioned troops always perform the five daily prayers in congregation and that they be daily instructed in a portion of the Great Koran as well as in religious questions and doctrinal principles of faith necessary for the common people.

Let the necessary physician and surgeon be procured and appointed, with suitable salaries, from local specialists through the judgment and by means of the aforementioned [Governor]. In order that these [specialists] be present at all tours of duty, their salary and expenses are to be [paid] by the aforementioned Agent and recorded in the register of various expenditures (*perakende masârif defteri*) and let [these specialists] be employed. The aforementioned [Governor], the Colonel and other officers, according to their ranks, are to do their utmost concerning the proper treatment and care of men and officers who are on duty and become sick, ill, or accidentally injured. Let them not be negligent in always taking proper care of [the troops'] well-being and health.

In the aforementioned regiment consisting of these three groups, [the officers] of every group are to be from their own race. One in every ten men is to be appointed a corporal. One hundred men are to be considered a com-

pany. In every company are to be appointed one captain, lieutenants, one standard-bearer, sergeants, one water-bearer, one chief bugler, and bugler privates. For the people of Islam *imâm*s are to be appointed and for the Cossack community two priests (*râhib*). The troops of the [Tatar] clans are to be considered right wing and the Turkish young men together with the Cossack troops are to be considered left wing. Therefore, the major of the right wing and his adjutant are to be from the [Tatar] chiefs and the major of the left wing and his adjutant are to be from the Turkish young men. Only the chief of the Cossack contingent is to be a Muslim. Other than that, the [Cossack] captains and their other officers are to be from their own race. The Colonel is [p. 30] to command all of them. However, the chain of command is [as follows]: the Colonel commands the majors of the right and left wings; the major of the right wing commands the captains of the six companies under his charge; the major of the left wing commands the Chief of Cossacks as well as the captains of the six companies under his charge; the captains command the corporals of every company, and the corporals command the nine men who are under their charge. But it is necessary that orders and prohibitions concerning the Cossack troops be addressed through the Chief of Cossacks. In this manner every officer is to take care of the command and administration of those under his charge. It is the sacred duty of the enlisted men always to obey their officers. When an offence or some other kind of business of one of the [men] emerges, the corporal is to report [it] to the captain; the captains to the majors; the Cossack Captains to the Chief of Cossacks; and they are to report [it] to the Colonel. The Colonel together with the aforementioned Agent are to take care of it if it is an ordinary and small matter. If it is a matter requiring some other form of punishment and severity, let it be carried out by means of the aforementioned Governor.

Similarly, if one of the [men] becomes a deserter, in order that he be immediately found and his punishment not be delayed one minute, let it be reported to His Excellency the aforementioned Governor within the hour; let that deserter be captured in any case and the necessary punishment carried out.

In order that not one of the aforementioned troops is ever to be found absent, either during a tour of duty or when on special assignment, it is necessary that they be completely accounted for. Therefore every man is to be bound, with complete attention and care, in bonds of surety. The corporals are to serve as surety for their men, the captains for the corporals, the majors for the captains, the Chief of Cossacks for his own contingent and the Colonel for the majors and the Chief of Cossacks. After having thus bound [the troops] in strong bonds, whosoever is found to be negligent and deficient, in contravention of regulations, let them be punished immediately.

Let the Colonel and the other officers not employ salaried troops as servants; also, let not the uniforms of servants who will be employed from outside [the military] resemble the uniforms of the troops.

Whereas it has been arranged that in peacetime the tour of duty of the

aforementioned troops would [comprise], for their own convenience, a four-month [period] at one time; therefore, until the completion of his turn, not one person is to be absent from [the contingent] of about four hundred men and officers on duty. For that purpose they are to be present at the place to which they will be assigned by order of the aforementioned [Govenor]. If [having completed their mandatory turn] some want to serve two turns, let it be allowable that they remain in the suite of the aforementioned Governor and serve. As for the others, permission is to be granted for their sojourn with their clans, and in their villages and homes, until their next turn. However, with the exception of the Colonel, the majors of the right and left wings and the Chief of Cossacks, let the pay and rations of all other officers and men, as listed below, be paid in full only when they serve on their mandatory tour of duty, or as long as they serve in the suite of the aforementioned [Governor] performing assigned duty. [p. 31] Following their tour of duty, when they stay at their homes, let them be granted only half their pay and their rations stopped. Let the weapons and government uniforms which they wear be taken away from them and gathered, clean, by means of the aforementioned Colonel and officers of every rank. Let [name-] labels be placed on the [uniforms] and let them be stored in suitable places. Upon the [men's] arrival for their [next] tour of duty, let them be clothed again each with their own uniforms.

Those officers and men who having completed their [mandatory] tour of duty do not return to their homes and having requested, and been granted, permission to continue to serve in the suite of the aforementioned Governor, together with another contingent on duty, let their pay and rations be given as before as long as they serve.

These tours of duty of the aforementioned troops are intended only for peacetime. During wartime, with the exception of the sick, not one person is to be absent. It is necessary that they be fully present and ready at their places of duty at all times. Therefore, if at that time a soldier is missing, let all of the Colonel, majors, Chief of Cossacks, captains, and corporals be punished together.

Whereas in this manner all the men and officers are to be always present and ready, whether on tours of duty or at other times; therefore, as soon as an imperial order from Istanbul reaches His Excellency the aforementioned [Governor], let the [troops] immediately rise and set out to whichever destination they may be assigned. [The troops] are to obey *Vezirs*, *Mirmirans*,[12]

[12] The rank of *vezir* was conferred on the highest state functionaries, military or civilian. At this period it was held by ministers of the central government as well as by the most senior provincial governors. At war time *vezirs* were designated to command major military contingents, although only the Grand Vezir usually commanded the main contingent known as the Imperial Army (*Ordu-yu Humayun*). The rank of *mirmiran,* sometimes used synonymously with that of *beylerbey,* designated the next highest rank. It was conferred on provincial governors as

Commandants of Imperial Fortresses (*Kilâ-i Hakaniye Muhâfizi*) and any other [official] to whose suite they may be attached. They are to be fully present at the places, and in the suites, to which they may be assigned. Let it be a basic principle of their regulation that they are to exert themselves to the utmost, in combat, guard, and patrol duty and other assignments, as may be required.

Henceforth, the promotion order of these cavalry troops is to follow the principles [established] in the infantry [regiments] of the Muhammadan Victory-Granted Army. That is to say that at first a person is enrolled as a cavalry private; then, as he acquires seniority in its proper way, by regulation let him be appointed corporal, then sergeant, then standard-bearer, lieutenant, captain and [adjutant-] major;[13] then, if [he has attained the rank of] adjutant-major let him become a major. When the position of Colonel becomes vacant, if among the subordinate officers there is one who is worthy and deserving of the rank of Colonel, let it be granted to him with authorization from Istanbul. In case none is found, let another suitable [officer] be appointed from outside [the regiment], again with an Imperial Decree.

When the office of Chief of Cossacks becomes vacant, let one of the captains of the left wing be selected by merit. Let attention be paid that officers of every rank are to be [appointed] from their [men's] own race.

In matters of promotion and rank, seniority and the indicated line of promotion must be observed. However, the basis of judgment is to depend on capability and merit. Therefore, it is always permissible to give precedence to capable subordinates. But when there is equality in capability, in that case let seniority be counted as cause for preference.

If one of the officers or men commits some crime, let his punishment be carried out immediately by means of the aforementioned Governor. But if it comes to pass — may God forbid! — that the aforementioned Colonel has committed some crime, or offense, in contravention of the Imperial Will and Regulation, in order to carry out severe retribution in his case, let the aforementioned [Governor] report [the case] to Istanbul with verification [p. 32] and let [that Colonel] be punished according to an Imperial Order which is to be issued.

The aforementioned Colonel is to be given one set of uniforms only this time, so that their color and style be known. As they become used let him

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well as on military commanders in charge of important fortresses or large troops contingents. Both *vezir*s and *mirmiran*s were addressed with the honorific title of *paşa*. See above, fn. 28 of the article. Also cf. Pakalīn, *Osmanlī Tarih,* 2: 545, and 3: 590–593; V. L. Ménage, "Beglerbegi," *EI*[2], 1: 1159–60.

13 The word *mülâzimi* is missing in this text. It seems, however, an inadvertent omission. The document follows closely the text of the founding regulation of the new army where the order of promotion is clearly established from captain to adjutant-major and then major.

replace them from his own salary. All other officers and men are to be given at the time of their enrollment, as explained below, one set of uniforms, a pair of shoes and a hooded rain cloak; all are to be given a bayonet, a saber, a pair of cavalry pistols with cases, and a cartridge-box known as *latinka* [?]. Those who will continuously serve on active duty and in the suite of the aforementioned [Governor], let their uniforms be renewed every year. All others who will serve on [mandatory] tours of duty only four months a year, and the rest of the time remain at their homes, let their uniforms be renewed once in two years.

It is evident that the Tatar community itself will provide the horses [which its members need] for cavalry service. But the Cossack community is poor. Therefore, this community as well as the Turkish young men who will be enrolled, let them be given only this time one hundred and fifty *kuruş* each as horse-money in order that they themselves purchase and acquire the necessary animals and riding gear. After this, whenever losses occur, let the population of the villages from which they had been enrolled provide and complete [the number] of cavalry horses for the Turkish young men; and let the [Cossack] community provide and complete the cavalry horses for the Cossack troops. In sum, henceforth, all the animals of the aforementioned troops are to become state chattel. The feed of these animals is to be provided by the state during their tour of duty and time of service. At other times it is to be provided by the villages and clans of their [masters]. Let it be firmly established that the aforementioned Governor and all the officers are always to pay careful attention to the matter of feeding and attending to these horses, which are to be the mounts of the aforementioned troops, that they always be strong.

The required rations — bread, beef, salt, barley, straw and [rations] specially assigned to officers, as explained below — are to be given, exactly and in full, to officers and men who serve on their tour of duty or who remain in the suite of the aforementioned Governor after completing their turn. The items necessary for rations and uniforms are to be procured and arranged locally by the aforementioned Agent, with the consultation and by means of the aforementioned Governor. Let attention and care be paid, always, to the obligation to protect the state [treasury].

Assigned weapons are to be distributed by means of the officers according to the register. Let everyone always clean his weapons, and let care and concern be rendered to their maintenance in a clean and polished [manner]. Those who with the passage of time need repair or replacement [of their weapons], let their officers come forth and present an explanation to the aforementioned Colonel and Agent. If [their weapons] need repairs, let them be repaired; if they need replacement, let them be replaced.

When the services of farriers and saddlers are required for the aforementioned troops, the aforementioned Agent is to take care of their necessary pay and expenses, and record them in the register of various expenditures. But let

him be watchful. In these matters, should he dare, contrary to the Imperial Will, to follow [the path of] greediness and pilfering, let him surely know that there will be no other alternative than punishment [p. 33]. Let him be mindful, therefore, to act with loyalty and righteousness.

The pay assigned to the officers and men of the aforementioned regiment is to be disbursed as a monthly salary with each month considered as comprising thirty days. Therefore, every month at its appropriate time, a [pay] register is to be prepared showing the number of officers and men who are performing their tour of duty and those who are in the suite [of the Governor]. His Excellency the aforementioned [Governor] is to forward [this register] to Istanbul, and accordingly the necessary sums of money are to be sent to that province. [When the funds arrive] a pay office is to be set up in the presence of the aforementioned Governor and attended by the aforementioned Colonel and Agent and the other officers. The pay is then to be distributed in person to everyone, in accordance with the muster rolls and the regulation and corresponding to the [pay] registers. Let [the officers] take care that of the men on duty not one is to be absent and that the salaries of those absent are not to be paid to others.

The aforementioned troops serving in this manner in tours of duty and in the [Governor's] suite will be gaining promotion according to the rules of promotion by virtue of their steadfastness and righteousness. However, after the passing of twelve years from the date of enrollment, should one of [the men] desire to leave the military and take up farming at his home district, or enter another occupation, he is to be granted, gratuitously, a [discharge] permit. [But] let it be totally prohibited before twelve years [have passed].

Those who have the ability and wish to go on the sacred pilgrimage [to Mecca] — if it is at peacetime, let permission be granted.

Those who in the future should become wounded or disabled during an assignment and campaign, and [who] following the healing of their wounds [have] it verified that they are unable to work — if they are officers holding a salary (*ma'âş*), let them be granted a retirement appointment with two-thirds of their salary, or even more, according to their wounds and deserving; if they are enlisted men (*neferât*) receiving a monthly allowance (*mâhiye*)[14] [let them be granted a retirement appointment] with their full allowance, or even more, according to their wounds and deserving. However, in this matter let the necessary attention and manner of conduct conform to the principles established in the Code of Regulations of the Victory-Granted Army.

The injunctions and commands recorded above are to be permanently followed with vigilance and watchfulness by the aforementioned Colonel,

[14] The terms *ma'âş* and *mâhiye* are used sometimes synonymously and at other times distinctively. When employed distinctively, *ma'âş* generally signifies the pay of senior ranks whereas *mâhiye* indicates that of the lower ranks.

Agent, and the other officers. Those who in this matter act with uprightness and loyalty will become the objects of imperial recompense. Similarly, those who dare to act contrarily, let them know in a decisive manner that they will become the objects of punishment. Let them take care to perform accordingly.

Salary of Colonel (*Binbaşî Ağa*) — 750 *kuruş* per month (hereafter k.p.m.)
Clerk (*Nefer Kâtibi*) — 150 k.p.m.

Salaries of Commander and Men Forming the Right Wing:

Major of the Right Wing (*Sağkol Ağasî*) to be appointed from the [Tatar] chiefs (*Mirza*) — 1 man — 250 k.p.m.
Adjutant-major (*Kol Ağasî Mülâzimi*) — 1 man — 125 k.p.m.
Captain (*Yüzbaşî*) — 6 men — To each (hereafter ea.) 100 k.p.m. — 600 k.p.m.
Lieutenant (*Yüzbaşî Mulâzimi*) — 12 men — ea. 70 k.p.m. — 840 k.p.m.

[p.] 34

Standard-bearer (*Sancakdar*) — 6 men — ea. 50 k.p.m. — 300 k.p.m.
Sergeants (*Çavuşân*) — 12 men — ea. 50 k.p.m. — 600 k.p.m.
Corporals (*Onbaşîyân*) — 60 men — ea. 20 k.p.m. — 1200 k.p.m.
Troopers (*Neferât*) — 540 men — ea. 15 k.p.m. — 8100 k.p.m.
Chaplains (*Imâmân*) — 4 men — ea. 30 k.p.m. — 120 k.p.m.
Water-bearers (*Sakkâyân*) — 6 men — ea. 25 k.p.m. — 150 k.p.m.
Chief Bugler (*Boruzen Başî*) — 1 man — 60 k.p.m.
Bugler (*Boruzen*) — 12 men — ea. 30 k.p.m. — 360 k.p.m.
Total: 661 men — 13,605 k.p.m.

Monthly Salaries of the Troops Forming the Left Wing from the Turkish Young Men:

Major of the Left Wing (*Solkol Ağasî*) — 1 man — 250 k.p.m.
Adjutant-Major ([*Kol Ağasî] Mülâzimi*) — 1 man — 125 k.p.m.
Captain (*Yüzbaşî*) — 3 men — ea. 100 k.p.m. — 300 k.p.m.
Lieutenant (*Yüzbaşî Mülâzimi*) — 6 men — ea. 70 k.p.m. — 420 k.p.m.
Standard-bearer (*Sancakdar*) — 3 men — ea. 50 k.p.m. — 150 k.p.m.
Sergeants (*Çavuşân*) — 6 men — ea. 50 k.p.m. — 300 k.p.m.
Corporals (*Onbaşîyân*) — 30 men — ea. 20 k.p.m. — 600 k.p.m.
Troopers (*Neferât*) — 270 men — ea. 15 k.p.m. — 4050 k.p.m.
Chaplains (*Imâmân*) — 2 men — ea. 30 k.p.m. — 60 k.p.m.
Water-bearers (*Sakkâyân*) — 3 men — ea. 25 k.p.m. — 75 k.p.m.

Chief Bugler (*Boruzen Başî*) — 1 man — 60 k.p.m.
Bugler (*Boruzen*) — 6 men — ea. 30 k.p.m. — 180 k.p.m.
Total: 332 men — 6570 k.p.m.

Salaries of Officers and Men of the Cossack Community Joined to the Left Wing whose Organization Has Been Firmly Resolved:

Salary of Chief of Cossacks (*Kazak Başî Ağa*) — 1 man — 150 k.p.m.
Captain (*Yüzbaşî*) — 3 men — ea. 100 k.p.m. — 300 k.p.m.
Lieutenants (*Yüzbaşî Mülâzimleri*) — 6 men — ea. 70 k.p.m. — 420 k.p.m.
Standard-bearer (*Bayrakkeş*) — 3 men — ea. 50 k.p.m. — 150 k.p.m.
Sergeants (*Çavuşân*) — 6 men — ea. 50 k.p.m. — 300 k.p.m.
Corporals (*Onbaşîyân*) — 30 men — ea. 20 k.p.m. — 600 k.p.m.
Troopers (*Neferât*) — 270 men — ea. 15 k.p.m. — 4050 k.p.m.
Water-bearers (*Sakkâyân*) — 3 men — ea. 25 k.p.m. — 75 k.p.m.
Priest (*Râhib*) — 2 men — ea. 25 k.p.m. — 50 k.p.m.
Bugler (*Boruzen*) — 6 men — ea. 30 k.p.m. — 180 k.p.m.
Total: 330 men — 6275 k.p.m.

Daily Rations of the Colonel:[15]

Bread 4 pairs [of loaves]
Beef 2 *okka*s
Rice 1 *okka*
Oil 100 *dirhem*s
Barley 8 *okka*s
Straw 16 *okka*s
Salt 48 *dirhem*s

Rations of the Officers and Men Forming the Right Wing:
Rations of the Major of the Right Wing:

Bread 2 pairs
Beef 1 *okka*
Rice ½ *okka*
Oil 50 *dirhem*s
Barley 6 *okka*s
Straw 12 *okka*s

Rations of Captains — 6 men — daily:

Bread 9 pairs
Beef 3 *okka*s

[15] For an explanation on weights and measures, see note to Table 1, p. 382.

Barley 24 *okka*s
Straw 48 *okka*s

Rations of Other Officers and Men — 654 men — daily:

Bread — ea. 300 *dirhem*s — 490½ *okka*s
Beef — ea. 100 *dirhem*s — 163½ *okka*s
Barley — ea. 2 *okka*s — 1308 *okka*s
Straw — ea. 4 *okka*s — 2616 *okka*s

[p.] 35

Rations of Officers and Men Forming the Left Wing:
Rations of the Major of the Left Wing — 1 man — daily:

Bread 2 pairs
Beef 1 *okka*
Rice ½ *okka*
Oil 50 *dirhem*s
Barley 6 *okka*s
Straw 12 *okka*s

Rations of Captains — 3 men — daily:

Bread 4½ *okka*s [should probably be "pairs"; see above rations of captains in the right wing]
Beef 1½ *okka*s
Barley 12 *okka*s
Straw 24 *okka*s

Rations of Other Officers and Men — 328 men — daily:

Bread 246 *okka*s
Beef 82 *okka*s
Barley 656 *okka*s
Straw 1312 *okka*s

Rations of Chief Cossack — daily:

Bread — 1½ *okka*s [Should it have been "pairs"?]
Beef ½ *okka*
Barley 4 *okka*s
Straw 8 *okka*s

Rations of Cossack Officers and Men — 330 men[16] — daily:

Bread 247½ *okka*s
Beef 82½ *okka*s
Barley 660 *okka*s
Straw 1320 *okka*s

The Colonel's Uniform:

Velvet jacket (*çepken*) with golden threads arranged crosswise. One piece.
Purple broadcloth breeches (*sĭkma*). One piece.
Şubara [a round-crowned cap] decorated with a tassel. One piece.
Lahore shawl (*şal*). One piece.

Uniforms and weapons of the majors of the right wing and left wing, their adjutants, the clerk, the Chief of Cossacks and the captains equally [distributed] to the Tatars and the Turkish young men:

Gallooned şubara of blue broadcloth decorated with a pair of tassels. One piece.
Long Tatar jacket (*Tatar çepkeni*) [reaching] below the knees of blue broadcloth. One piece.
Breeches of blue broadcloth. One piece.
Baghdad shawl — only to majors and clerk. One piece.
Bayonet (*süngü*) — one piece.
Rain cloak (*yağmurluk*) with hood — one piece.
Saber (*şimşir*) — one piece.
Ammunition box (*palaska*) known as *latĭnka* [?] — one piece.
Cavalry pistols with cases — one pair.
Boots (*çizme*) — one pair.

Uniforms and Weapons of the Standard-bearers and Sergeants:

Şubara of blue broadcloth decorated with a tassel — one piece.
Jacket of blue broadcloth — one piece.
Breeches of blue broadcloth — one piece.
Saber — one piece.
Ammunition box — one piece.
Cavalry pistols with cases — one pair.
Boots — one pair.
Rain cloak with hood — one piece.

[16] This figure must be a clerical error. The total number of the Cossack contingent listed above, including the Chief of Cossacks, is given as 330 men, whereas here the Chief of Cossacks is listed separately. The correct number should be 329.

Uniforms and weapons of Troopers:

Şubara of blue broadcloth — one piece.
Breeches of blue serge — one piece.
Jacket of blue serge — one piece.
Rain cloak with hood — one piece.
Bayonet — one piece.
Saber — one piece.
Cavalry pistols with cases — one pair.
Boots — one pair.

Uniforms and weapons of the Cossack Captains:

Transylvanian *kalpak* (*Mokan Kalpağı*) of the skin of a white lamb — one piece.
Jacket of blue broadcloth — one piece.
Breeches of blue serge — one piece.
Rain cloak with hood — one piece.
Bayonet — one piece.
Ammunition box — one piece.
Saber — one piece.
Boots — one pair.

Uniforms and weapons of Cossack Troopers:

Transylvanian *kalpak* of the skin of a black lamb — one piece.
Jacket of blue serge — one piece.
Breeches of white aba — one piece.
Tunic (*gömlek*) — one piece.
Rain cloak with hood — one piece.
Bayonet — one piece.
Ammunition box — one piece.
Saber — one piece.
Cavalry pistols with cases — one pair.
Boots — one pair.

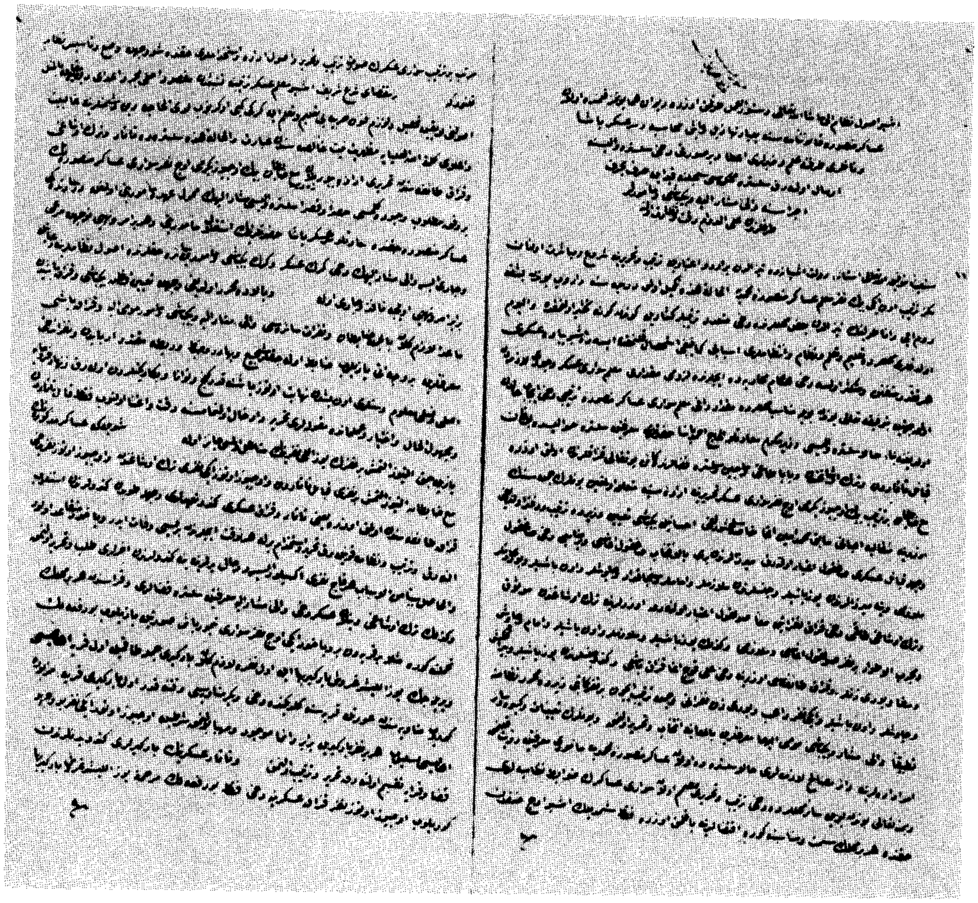
[p.] 36

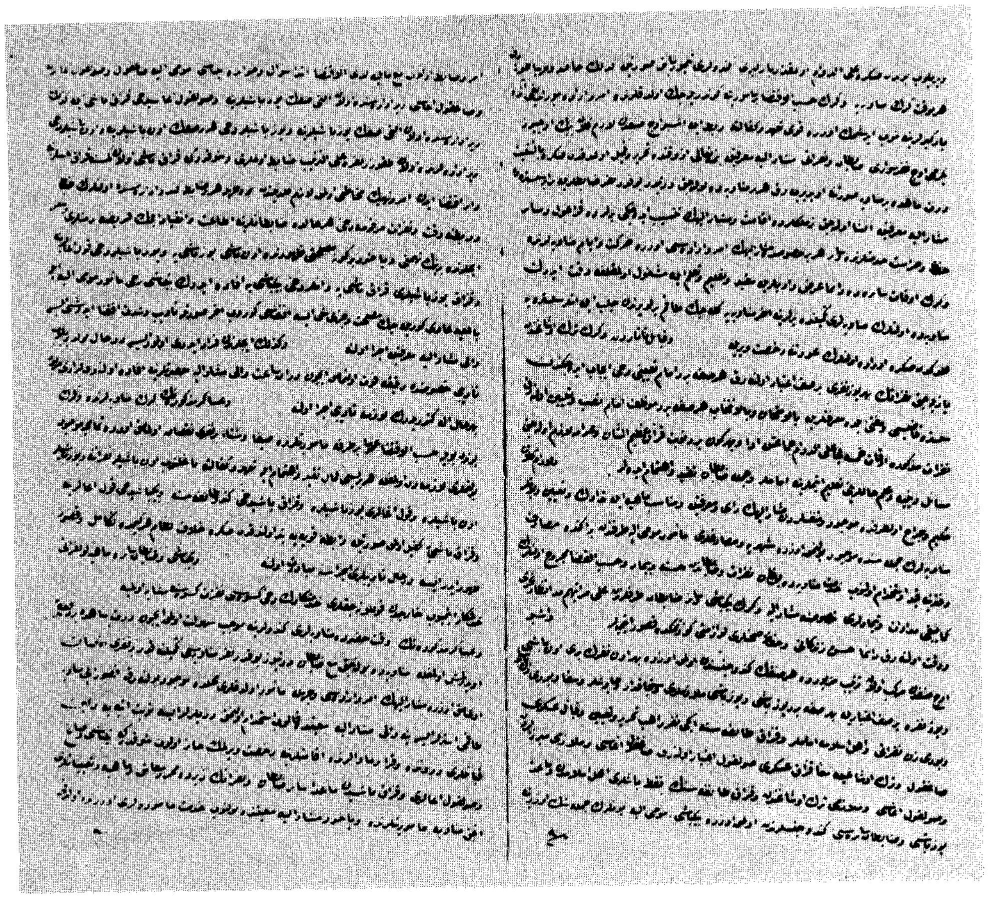
Whereas the organization plan established in the case of the aforementioned regiment is to be implemented, with God's Will, in conformity with the above; and in order that, henceforth, it be possible, with the issuance of an Imperial Order, to substitute, alter and add to some of its provisions, according to the requirements of circumstances and interests; let [this regulation] be appended, in its entirety, to the Victory-Granted Army Code of Regulations [located] in [the Bureau of] the Imperial Council. Let formal information be given to the

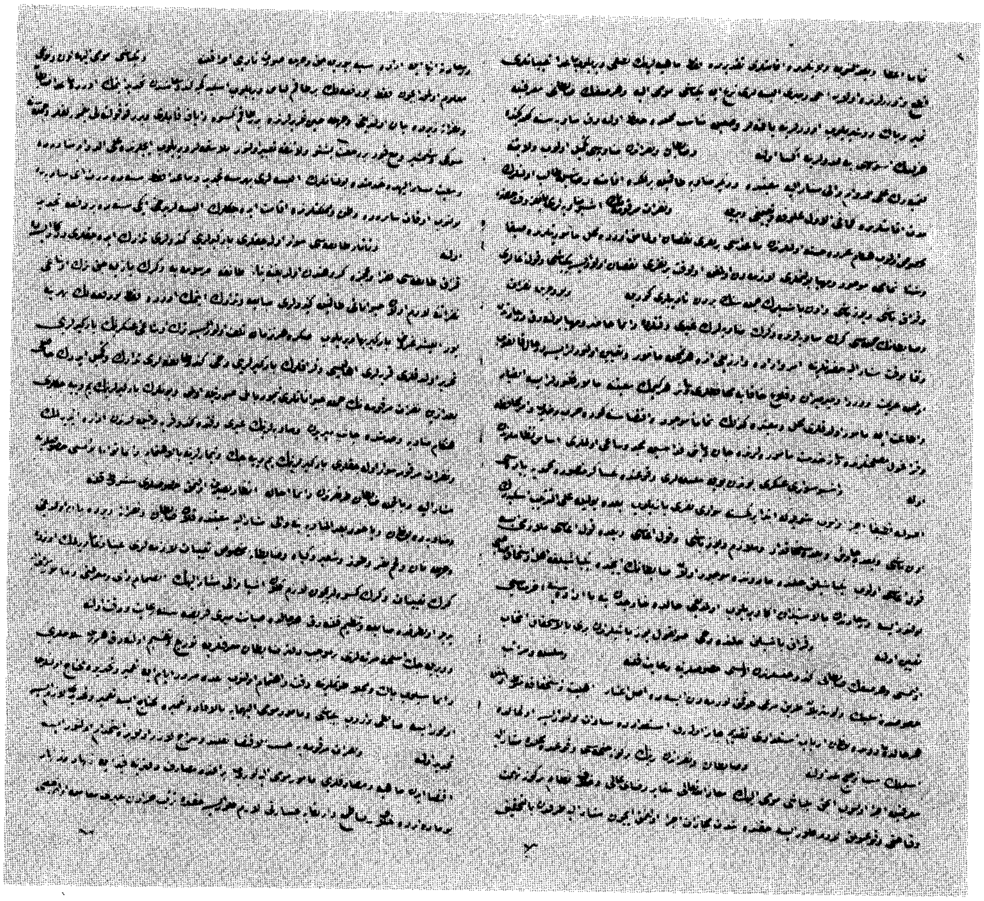
Accountancy Department, the General of the Army, and the Superintendent [of the Army]. Whereas one copy is being dispatched, appended to an Imperial Command addressed to the aforementioned Governor of Silistra, let it be recorded also in the register of the Silistra Court of Justice. Let the aforementioned [Governor], the Colonel, the Agent and the other officers render continuous care and concern for the [Regulation's] execution letter-by-letter. Let abundant care and perseverance be rendered to avoid any kind of contrary act.

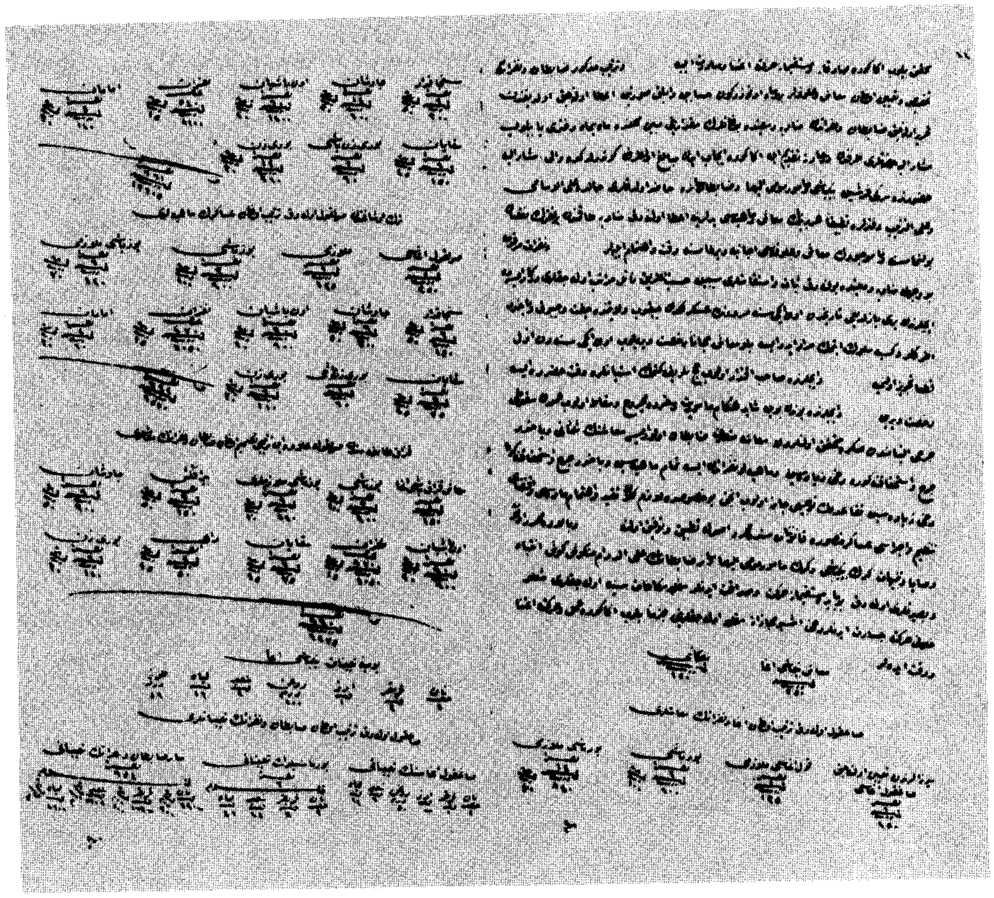
Recorded in the middle decade of the month of Rebiyülâhir in the year one thousand two hundred and forty-two [to the Hijra/12–21 November 1826].

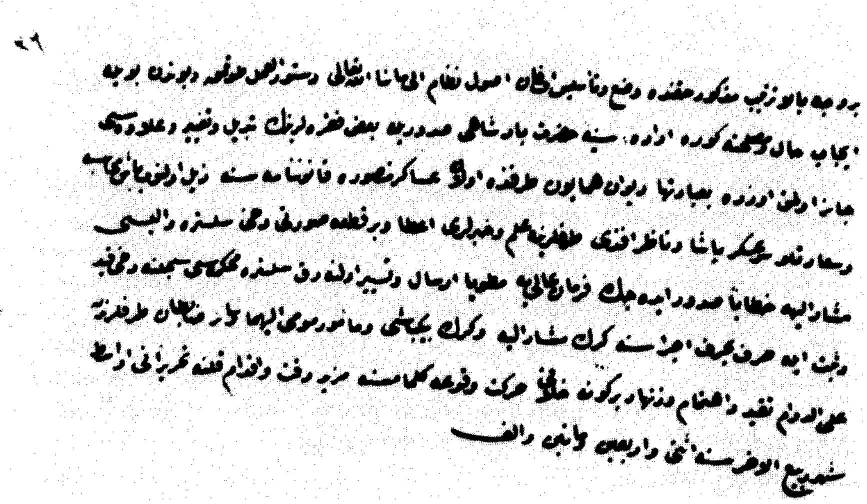
APPENDIX 2: FACSIMILE OF THE REGULATION











REVIEWS

THE GROWTH OF THE LAW IN MEDIEVAL RUSSIA. By *Daniel H. Kaiser*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980. 308 pp. $25.00

This study sets for itself the ambitious goal of describing legal change in northeastern Rus' from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. Although the chief pieces of evidence — legal codes and administrative charters — have long since been published and have been discussed at length by generations of legal scholars, in many cases their meaning is still far from clear. Laconic in the extreme, they contain terms which may never be defined with satisfactory accuracy. Each legal compilation has its own, often complicated manuscript tradition, which makes dating of the terms used therein very difficult. Finally, lack until the fifteenth century of a substantial number of trial records prevents us from divining day-to-day legal practice from the instructions in codes or legal manuals. The author threads his way through this perilous territory carefully and judiciously, and at times even with wit. Although his explicit geographic focus largely excludes the Ukraine, he says a great deal about both redactions of the *Rus'skaia pravda* in particular, and about social and political life in Kievan Rus' in general.

The book is by necessity weak on manuscript study. Faced with a large number of legal texts, each with its own history, Kaiser never attempts to provide formal descriptions or to redate individual manuscript copies; instead he provides an intelligent survey of the often massive secondary literature on a given text (chapter two). The obvious risks of such a strategy are more than outweighed by the breadth of perspective that this approach makes possible. The book's greatest strength is that it places these East Slavic legal texts in the context of comparative legal history, drawing heavily on recent scholarship in legal anthropology and Western (largely English) medieval legal history. The comparative approach often makes the meaning of individual parts of the texts clearer, while noting how East Slavic legal experience compared with that of other societies at a similar stage of growth. The first chapter provides the overall anthropological framework against which East Slavic evidence is to be judged: it elucidates the legal consequences of the change from small, "traditional," and socially undifferentiated societies to larger, more complex, "modern" societies in which unwritten norms are no longer sufficient to regulate conduct. The former have horizontal, dyadic legal structures in which the plaintiff and defendant essentially work out disputes between themselves,

while the latter is characterized by a vertical, triadic legal structure in which the state, through a growing legion of judicial officers and increasingly elaborate procedures, mediates all disputes and punishes deviants. Chapters 3 to 5 discuss East Slavic use of sanctions, judicial personnel, and evidence, and the final chapter makes explicit the connections between legal and social change.

Kaiser concludes that traditional society and horizontal legal forms persisted far longer than has generally been supposed. Both were fully intact at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and in practice were still dominant as late as the sixteenth century. Meanwhile, largely at the initiative of prince and church but also in response to new social relations among the small number of urban dwellers, vertical legal patterns were increasingly prescribed in such legal codes as the Sudebnik of 1497 and were at least in some cases adhered to. This conclusion fits in well with the work of Nancy Shields Kollmann, which suggests that in the fifteenth century kinship was the dominant organizing principle of Muscovite court politics. Kaiser's frequent references to English legal history suggest that similar developments were taking place in Europe in the Early Middle Ages.

This is a very important point, and it is made carefully and convincingly. Nevertheless, the changes Kaiser describes are very general and it is often hard to define or date them precisely. Such conclusions as "whatever changes may have occurred in medieval society, much remained unchanged in spite of the best efforts of the clergy" (p. 171) are common. (It is similarly hard to date parallel developments in Western Europe with any precision.) The difficulty of dating legal texts or of establishing legal practice (as opposed to theory) only compound the problem. But these patterns of evidence are again early medieval in nature, and in their own way buttress Kaiser's major conclusion.

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THE MAZEPISTS: UKRAINIAN SEPARATISM IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Orest Subtelny*. East European Monographs. Boulder, Colo.: Distributed by the Columbia University Press, 1981. viii, 280 pp. $20.00

Hetman Mazepa's switching of sides on the eve of the battle of Poltava is well known. Professor Subtelny retells the story with brio, and tries to reconstruct Mazepa's motivations, mainly on the basis of the letter of Mazepa's successor, Pylyp Orlyk, to Stefan Iavors'kyi. The main purpose of this monograph, however, is to relate in detail the story of Mazepa's followers — Pylyp Orlyk

and those of the *heneral'na starshyna* who shared his exile in the Ottoman Empire.

We follow step by step the tortuous and ever changing landscape of negotiations and intrigues between Russia, the two Polish kings (August II and Stanislas Leszczyński), Sweden, the Porte, and the Crimea, and, of course, the several groups representing the Ukraine, especially the émigrés led by Orlyk. Professor Subtelny's detailed information on Orlyk's (and his followers') policies and attitudes, as well as on the intentions of the great powers, is based on the heretofore unpublished *Diariusz* (Diary) of Orlyk kept among the hetman's family papers in Dinteville (Haute Marne). From these pages the exiled leader emerges as a living person, rather than as simply a puppet of historical forces. It is a pity, however, that the other participants in the story (except Mazepa) remain shadowy, since we would wish for a tangible sense of the other Ukrainian leaders, as well.

The complex and frequently contradictory story of intrigues, diplomatic moves, and countermoves that emerges from Professor Subtelny's work demonstrates the difficulties an émigré group has in preserving political significance and autonomy. Admittedly, the political fate of the Ukraine was particularly complicated and, in the final analysis, dependent on the interests and will of its neighbors. It is far from certain that its political independence, nay even secure autonomy, could have been preserved under the diplomatic and military conditions obtaining at the time. But in Professor Subtelny's chronicle the efforts of the émigré Cossack leadership appear largely as exercises in futility. And the longer the exile lasted, the more futile these efforts became, as the émigrés became more and more isolated, psychologically as well as physically, from their land and natural socio-political context.

The futility of these efforts was compounded by the fact that each power involved in determining the future of the Ukraine had its own interests, which it pursued in disregard of warnings and appeals from a group of exiles lacking freedom of movement and adequate financial and military resources. Unfortunately, Professor Subtelny has defined his brief rather too narrowly, limiting himself strictly to the Ukrainian and émigré perspectives. While that has enabled him to write a terse monograph which still provides much detail on the exiles' actions and plans, the result is somewhat unsatisfactory, since the reader is not given enough information about the broader concerns of the major powers involved. For each of them — even the Crimean Khanate, whose situation, diplomatically speaking, was the simplest of all — the Ukrainian problem was but one facet of a rather complex political configuration. The study would have benefited from the inclusion of a comprehensive fresco of the political map of Europe at the time, something on the model of Albert Sorel's introduction to his magisterial studies of eighteenth-century diplomacy.

Professor Subtelny also argues that the Mazepa and Mazepist episodes fit

into the broader scheme of more or less contemporary revolts against the absolute, centralized monarchies. He puts Mazepa and Orlyk (and their followers) in the same category as Ferenc II Rákóczi and Johann Rheinhold von Patkul, and connects all of them with such earlier anti-monarchic risings as the Fronde, the Catalonian revolts, and even the English revolution. I confess that I remain unconvinced. As recent historical scholarship has shown (and I note the absence in this work of such names as John Elliott, H. Koenigsberger, R. Mousnier, L. Stone) the relationship between centralizing monarchy and so-called feudal nobilities was more complex and ambivalent than whiggish historiography assumed. Furthermore, the situation in Eastern Europe differed radically from that in the West — and even within the East European context I have trouble fitting Mazepa, Patkul, and Rákóczi in the same category. Patkul may be closest to Mazepa, but in both cases a very complex relationship between several sovereignties (loyalties?), historico-legal traditions, and confessional and ethnic peculiarities preclude valid comparison with the major European revolts of the seventeenth century. Finally, the author is rather loose and confusing in his use of terminology and vocabulary — e.g., resistance and rebellion are not exactly identical (p. 4), and Western medieval contract theories of government had, to my knowledge, no genuine counterpart in Eastern Europe (pp. 24–25). The Ukrainian specialist knows that Cossacks and Zaporozhian Sich Cossacks were clearly distinct social entities, but for the ordinary reader their differences and distinctive traits should be made clearer and maintained more firmly throughout the discussion. Readability and clarity are also impaired by careless editing and proofreading (especially in foreign words and references).

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NICHOLAS I: EMPEROR AND AUTOCRAT OF ALL THE RUSSIAS. By *W. Bruce Lincoln.* Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1978. 424 pp. $15.95.

"Ivan Fedorovich!" Nicholas I proclaimed in 1850 to Prince Paskevich, the victorious commander of the Russian troops in Hungary the previous year. "Thou art the glory of my twenty-five year reign — Thou art the history of the reign of Nicholas!" Professor W. Bruce Lincoln, in a new biography of the Russian autocrat, laconically adds: "And so he was. On parade, Paskevich's armies were perfect. In the field he moved cautiously, doing everything according to regulations. But like Nicholas, he now belonged to another and earlier age" (p. 316). Thus the author sums up his view of Nicholas I, the men

who served him, and the "system" he created. The characterization of the emperor and his empire in this beautifully produced book by Indiana University Press should long remain the standard account of Nicholas I (1825–1855) and his policies.

Professor Lincoln argues that for a quarter of a century Nicholas, a man psychologically infected by a virulent strain of "familial and proprietary concepts of Prussian militarism" (p. 50), tried to build the Russian autocracy into an extreme type or "system" of absolute monarchy. Behaving as if he was an efficient military commander ultimately responsible for all of Russia's problems, the tsar ruled through ministers and councilors who more resembled (and often were) army adjutants rather than civil servants. The emperor's "system" of government, with its extensive and intensive use of police surveillance, gave the era a distinctive stamp. The tsar came to see the empire as something different from West European states. Yet Nicholas's endless devotion to duty and his complete confidence in the moral rightness of his policies were destined to fail from the outset. His reign anachronistically and fatally attempted to perpetuate and develop an eighteenth-century form of enlightened absolutism in the post-Napoleonic Europe of the Industrial Revolution. Russia fell behind Western Europe during the period and was finally defeated in the Crimean War by forces the emperor and his assistants only dimly understood.

These contentions Professor Lincoln puts forward in ten chapters skillfully interweaving domestic affairs and foreign policy. Roughly two-thirds of the book is devoted to the empire's government, economics, intellectual life, and military. The remainder deals with Nicholas's diplomacy and wars. The topics discussed put the emphasis where it belongs, for they reflect Nicholas's own interests and are in keeping with the proper aim of the book to study the emperor and his policies. The result is not a narrow court biography or a repetition of past histories which have given disproportionate attention to foreign affairs, but a restricted examination of the imperial framework Nicholas sought to erect and how well or ill it served his purposes. Although the book is directed to the general reader, specialists will find it an illuminating and handy guide to new archival research on the development of the Russian state, especially its bureaucracy.

Professor Lincoln's psychological portrait of Nicholas begins with the future autocrat's early home life, education, and dynastic connections to the Prussian court in Berlin. These influences instilled well-defined and lifelong attitudes. He became a "drill master," relentlessly driving himself and others to do their "duty." Still, he possessed warm and open-hearted qualities which he displayed in the intimate family circle and to a few trusted friends and councilors. Readers of the book soon realize that Nicholas lacked the conflicting emotions ceaselessly at war in the breast of his older brother, Emperor Alexander I, who preceded him on the throne. If Nicholas's reign became a tragedy, as

Professor Lincoln believes, it was not because he had the fatal flaws of a Hamlet or because his education had not been directed toward forming a future emperor of Russia. His personal tragedy was of a different sort. He was a man who wanted to promote the welfare of his subjects and preserve them from the corrosive spiritual and intellectual influences of the West. Yet his temperament, mental equipment, and outlook suggested to him an autocratic role ill-suited to the multifaceted and changing needs of the empire. Nicholas himself seems to have had some insight into his tragedy when on his deathbed he told his son, "I wanted to take everything difficult, everything serious, upon my shoulders and to leave you a peaceful, well-ordered, and happy realm. Providence decreed otherwise" (p. 350).

According to Professor Lincoln, Nicholas tried to solve the empire's many problems, agricultural backwardness, corruption, inefficiency, disease and so on, by creating the "Nicholas system." This approach to public policy and government did not introduce anything new in terms of political theory, but in practice it meant a systematic adjustment of the empire's social and political forces. The emperor avoided attacking directly the aristocracy's social pre-eminence. Rather, he constantly sought to develop a bureaucracy socially and economically independent of the nobility. In this way Nicholas could centralize governmental process and extend the power of the imperial bureaucracy widely into the Russian countryside without provoking the gentry's open opposition (p. 96). The new social base of support might then give the autocracy a chance to impose limits on the abuses of serfdom and perhaps eventually permit the abolition of an institution which Nicholas saw as an evil one. The "system" also aimed to preserve an international environment that would protect the empire's legitimacy and economic well-being. Thus, Nicholas's system meant the same thing, order and regularity, at home and abroad. Gradual reforms from above by Europe's enlightened monarchs would remedy their domestic ills and prevent revolution from sweeping away the legitimate political order by which Providence delegated kings to govern the masses. In the final analysis the system failed, or rather developed too slowly to protect Russia's autocratic legitimacy. The European revolution of 1848 frightened Nicholas into abandoning a system he now saw as too embryonic to meet the crisis. As a result, he became truly reactionary. He tried to resurrect gentry support for the autocracy by recreating the ethos characteristic of the Russian nobility during its Golden Age under Catherine II in the late eighteenth century. These are important conclusions about Nicholas and his statecraft and they deserve wide acceptance.

Nonetheless, a problem arises in understanding the place Nicholas's "system" occupied within the larger political experience of the Russian Empire before the era of the Great Reforms. According to Professor Lincoln, Nicholas "sought to create the epitome of an eighteenth-century Western European police state, an absolute monarchy such as that fashioned in France by

Louis XIV" (p. 351). The system, moreover, is properly viewed as the "culmination of the Empire's *entire* political experience since at least the beginning of the eighteenth century. . . ." (p. 78, italics mine). Yet on closer examination, one discovers that Professor Lincoln sees Nicholas's policies as the culmination only of the period prior to Catherine II. Her reign represents a different course of development, one which her son and grandsons tried to alter after her death. Following 1848, when Nicholas abandoned his system in favor of reliance on the nobility's political support, "he negated, in an important sense, nearly a half-century of efforts on the part of the Empire's rulers and their reformist advisers to modernize Russian life, for he now sought firmly to re-establish the *ancien régime* social and political order which had emerged in Russia during the late eighteenth century" (pp. 301–302). Clearly, then, Nicholas's system has a tangled connection to the eighteenth century. It might just as well be seen not as the "culmination" but as a "reaction" to what had come before. Yet, as the last quotation above suggests, Nicholas's reign is part of a larger reformist effort associated with Paul and Alexander I, especially the latter. By insisting on the concept of the "Nicholas system," Professor Lincoln raises to the level of first principle an approach to problems that differed only in degree rather than in kind from that of his father and brother. The Nicholas era stands out too starkly in contrast with what came before and makes Russia's political history too schematic.

A second problem concerns the economic condition of the empire. On the whole, despite the tragic debacle during the last years of the reign, Russia "had embarked upon a period of economic progress and domestic tranquillity" (p. 151). Of course this did not apply to the serfs, whose position "worsened steadily" (p. 153), even though Nicholas sought ways to improve their condition. It also apparently does not apply to the nobility, for "there were few landlords with the necessary capital to finance [agricultural] improvements. Landlord indebtedness was a major impediment to agricultural modernization throughout the first half of the nineteenth century as the nobility continued to sink further into debt" (p. 276). It does not apply to the government, which frequently had to postpone reforms, even needed military improvements, because the state could ill afford the expense (p. 185). So who was making economic progress?

Readers of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* will likely be dissatisfied with Lincoln's treatment of Nicholas I, particularly his neglect of the emperor's nationality policy. Although the author notes that the Revolution of 1848 revealed the Ukraine to be an area with especially strong revolutionary sentiments, there is no discussion even in the section of the book dealing with challenges to the system (pp. 252–272) of why this should be so. Nor is there much analysis of Nicholas's attitude toward religion, especially the beliefs of the national minorities. Consequently no effort is made to examine Nicho-

las's ill-considered decision to compel the Uniates in the Ukraine and Belorussia to break their ties with Rome and affiliate with the Russian Orthodox church.

These problems, however, should not obscure the fact that Professor Lincoln has produced an admirable book written on the basis of a wide reading in the printed sources and archives. It is an ambitious work which greatly benefits from his earlier specialized studies of the Russian imperial bureaucracy. Also, Professor Lincoln writes in a pleasing and jargon-free style.

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INTERNAL MIGRATION DURING MODERNIZATION IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA. By *Barbara A. Anderson*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980. xxv, 222 pp. $18.00.

Barbara Anderson's book is a statistical analysis which tests some hypotheses as to why and where people migrate during periods of modernization. The author contends (chapter 1) that the key to understanding why and where people migrate lies in the place of origin of the migrants. It is there that prospective migrants are affected by their environment and gain a perception of their possible future home. Both push and pull factors are considered from the potential migrant's point of view. Anderson argues that poverty and overcrowding do not, by themselves, induce people to leave their village and move to a city. Migration requires a "modern" state of mind, a willingness to challenge a traditional life-style and to take risks in a wider world: only then people will migrate, depending on their cultural pre-conditioning and level of advancement, to a more "modern" destination.

In the Russian Empire, her study area (chapter 2), Anderson identifies an incremental hierarchy of destinations for lifetime migrations. Least "modern" of the destinations was the rural frontier in Asiatic Russia; the Urals and the Donbas mining districts were somewhat more "advanced"; still more "advanced" were the other cities of European Russia; but the two most "modern" destinations were St. Petersburg and Moscow. Provinces of European Russia, except Finland, Poland, and the Northern Caucasus, were chosen as basic units for the analysis, and the data source was the detailed imperial census of 1897. As the birthplace of migrants, each province was evaluated for socioeconomic variables such as soil fertility (a surrogate for strong agrarian tradition), natural demographic increase (a measure of population pressure), literacy ("modernity"), proportion of native workers and servants (a surrogate for wage labor and hence "modernity"), and distance to specific destinations.

Unfortunately, ethnic composition of the population was not included among the socioeconomic variables, making it impossible for the study to compare migration patterns between, say, Russians and Ukrainians.

Analysis of out-migration to all destinations (chapter 3) revealed a strong positive relationship with high rates of literacy and a somewhat weaker positive relationship with the high proportion of population working in secondary industry. This provided credible support for Anderson's contention about "modernity." By contrast, out-migration showed a strong negative relationship with natural demographic increase, contradicting the arguments of many previous researchers that population pressure induces out-migration. Soil fertility showed a weak negative correlation with worker migrants, but strong positive correlation with non-worker (farmer) migrants, thus suggesting significant cultural differences among migrants who chose different destinations.

Migration to the two most modern centers, Moscow and St. Petersburg (chapter 4), was most closely related to a high rate of literacy. Indeed, more literate individuals selected Moscow and St. Petersburg as alternate destinations and found distance a lesser impediment to migration. Rural migrants, on the other hand, saw better chances for employment in closer industrial centers, including Moscow.

Migration rates to the agricultural frontier in Asiatic Russia (chapter 5) corresponded with proximity to the frontier and lower literacy. A positive relationship with soil fertility and a negative one with industrial workers were also significant. By using migration statistics (1885–1909) and by comparing two periods (1890–1894, 1905–1909), Anderson reveals a westward shift in the provinces where the migrants to Asiatic Russia originated. Since the shift was toward more agrarian provinces experiencing greater population pressure (i.e., the Ukraine), Anderson suggests that, over time, literacy loses and population pressure gains importance in the decision to migrate. Unfortunately, the data presented reveal nothing about the decision-making process or even the diffusion of decisions from innovators to the masses. They only describe the ecological characteristics of the provinces from which the migrants came.

Patterns on migration rate maps can, to a knowledgeable eye, hint at socioeconomic relations for further testing. For example, higher emigration to Siberia in 1890–1894 (map 5.1) came from provinces where Russian state peasants, who were individual farmers (former *odnodvorcy*), were more numerous; by 1905–1909 (map. 5.2) heavy emigration shifted to Belorussian and Ukrainian territories where individual land tenure (*podvornoje zemlevladenije*) prevailed and the Stolypin reform proceeded rapidly. Moreover, Belorussian and Russian peasants preferred to migrate to the forest zone of Siberia, whereas Ukrainian peasants, who in 1897 comprised one-fifth of all net migrants in Asiatic Russia, usually chose the warmer maritime zones or the steppes. Anderson, however, treated Asiatic Russia as an undifferentiated entity and thus could not comment on such cultural preferences.

Migration to destinations of intermediate modernity (chapter 6) was characterized by two distinct groups: those pursuing the grain farming frontier in southeastern Ukraine and the southern Urals, and those seeking employment in the mines and smelters of the Donbas and the Urals. A careful cross-cultural analysis, if attempted here, might have revealed a tendency for Ukrainian farmers to do the former and Russian peasants to pursue the latter.

Anderson's analysis of Jewish and Slavic migration to Odessa and Kiev (chapter 7) is risky, given that the migrants were not identified by language or religion. Although there was a significant positive correlation between the rates of migration to Odessa and the percentage of Jewish population in the source provinces, the real composition of the migrant groups was never recorded. References to restrictions on Jewish settlement in Kiev are useful, but data on the changing Jewish population of Odessa and Kiev would have given more credence to the argument. Moreover, since cities were predominantly Russian in 1897, an attempt to divide the Slavs into Belorussian, Ukrainian, and Russian components would have helped detect differences in urban migration and hence social mobility among the Slavs.

The author's conclusions about the migrants and their destinations (chapter 8) are made only in terms of the relationship between modernity and its major indicators — literacy and occupational structure. Cultural aspects of the population that have a bearing on the choice of destinations are not treated adequately.

Barbara Anderson has raised a number of important questions about modernity and migrations, and has found support for her hypotheses in the 1897 census. However, a cross-cultural analysis of migration patterns for the Russian Empire remains to be devised, described, and tested.

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GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF THE SOVIET NATIONALITIES: NON-RUSSIAN PEOPLES OF THE USSR. Edited by *Stephan M. Horak*. Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, 1982. 265 pp. $30.00.

The publication of this important reference work is a major event in the coming of age of the study of the 125 million non-Russian inhabitants of the Soviet Union. While it was beyond the capabilities of those who collaborated on this volume to provide an exhaustive bibliography, their work should take a place on the bookshelves of every serious student of the Soviet Union.

With the publication of Professor Horak's bibliography, those who recognize the importance of the national diversity of the Soviet Union — soon

Russians will make up a minority of its inhabitants — have a powerful reference tool. Now it is possible to quickly locate information on the anthropology, arts, economy, education, demography, geography, politics, history, dissent, language, literature, philosophy, culture, religion, and sociology of almost all the non-Russian nations of the Soviet empire. Of course, one can quibble over what has been and should have been included — for instance, personally I would have liked to see some of the early official party histories (e.g., by Ravich-Cherkasskii and Popov) in the section of Ukrainian history. But since only one scholar was assigned to compile a bibliography on all aspects of a nation's experience, the compilers must be congratulated on a Herculean task done, if not perfectly, then exceedingly well. This is particularly true of those whose subjects were most complex: David Crowe on the Baltic nations, Kenneth Farmer on the Ukrainians, Joseph McCadden on the non-Islamic peoples of the Caucasus, Isabelle Kreindler and Edward Lazzerini on the Islamic nations of the USSR, and Marjorie Balzer on the peoples of Siberia. Other sections deal with the Jews, Moldavians, and Germans. The volume is introduced by James Heiser's admirably concise essay on the status of Soviet nationality studies in North America.

One can only hope that the present effort is the first edition of a work which will be revised at regular intervals to include new works in this expanding and vital field of study.

James E. Mace
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ARMIIA BEZ DERZHAVY: SLAVA I TRAHEDIIA UKRAINS'KOHO POVSTANS'KOHO RUKHU. SPOHADY. By *Taras Bul'ba Borovets'*. Winnipeg: Volyn', 1981. 327 pp.

These memoirs, by one of the most important leaders of the Ukrainian resistance movement in World War II, have been long in preparation. Indeed, the unexplained delay between an initial version written in 1952 and the completion of the present text in 1980, which the author insisted replace the original version already in press, is one reason that the new book has become a focus of controversy. A more compelling reason, doubtless, is the bitter memories and continuing disputes which surround the wartime phase of recent Ukrainian history. A scholar — especially an outsider — must tread cautiously in appraising so controversial a work. Taras Borovets', who died in 1981, can no longer speak for himself. Since I talked to him at length in 1952 and 1953, I feel a responsibility to examine his last work attentively and, I hope, without bias.

Like any memoirs written down (at least in part) decades after the events they describe, the book tends to gloss over certain more painful aspects of the past. At some points Borovets' presents accounts which simply cannot be accepted literally. For example, the lengthy dialogue (pp. 207–211) of German officials alarmed at "Bul'bist" guerrilla activity must be considered a literary device rather than a verbatim record. I suspect, too, that some of the long programmatic documents he presents cannot be verbatim reproductions of the originals. Certainly Borovets' did not even indicate the existence of such documentation during talks with me. It is conceivable, of course, that he was saving the documents for his memoirs, which at that time he apparently intended to publish quickly. On the other hand, every major point in Borovets's book which can be checked against his much skimpier earlier testimony remains substantially unchanged.[1] The factual side of his account also agrees with information presented in the earliest full-length published accounts by his wartime collaborators of the disputes surrounding the development of the resistance movement.[2] Let me cite just one example. In his review in *Shliakh peremohy* (11 April 1982), Iaroslav Haivas expresses doubt about the statement by Borovets' that Andrii Livyts'kyi directed him to take armed action against the Germans "after they had crossed the Volga." Yet the "Hritsenko" version of *Armiia bez derzhavy* recounted (as early as 1 January 1951) precisely the same instructions from UNR President Livyts'kyi. Moreover, Borovets' himself not only related these instructions to me (in Munich on 16 November 1952), but explained that Livyts'kyi had wanted to delay an armed uprising until the German front had moved well beyond Ukrainian ethnic territory in order to minimize reprisals. Therefore, whatever one may think of the validity of this decision, Borovets's account of it remained consistent for thirty years.

It is hardly surprising that the most heated post-publication controversies have centered on the account by Borovets' of his clash with the Banderist faction of the OUN during the expansion of Ukrainian guerrilla activity during the summer of 1943. I briefly reconstructed the history of these tragic events in *Ukrainian Nationalism* twenty-eight years ago; no materials that either Borovets' or his recent critics advance alter this essential outline. Probably the Borovets' memoirs exaggerate, to some degree, the significance of his guerrilla force and the clarity of his own policy. On the other hand, his bitterness

[1] This includes *Kredo revoliutsii* (1946), "Dva khresty," published in *Ukrains'ki visti* (Christmas 1949), and *Zbroina borot'ba Ukrainy* (1951), all of which were published under Borovets's own name; and especially the series of articles published in *Ukrains'ki visti* in 1950–51, nominally by "Oleksander Hrytsenko," but bearing the same title ("Armiia bez derzhavy") as the present recollections and evidently inspired by Borovets'. To these published accounts, I can add my own interview notes.

[2] "O. Shuliak" (apparently a pen-name for Oleh Shtul'), *V im'ia pravdy* (1947); Information Section of the OUN (UNR), *OUN u viini* (April 1946).

toward the Banderists was just as intense when I knew him in 1952–53 as it is in his memoirs. His book is dedicated to his wife Anna who, he alleges, was killed by the Banderists after nearly three months of tormented captivity. Borovets' consistently blamed Mykola Lebed' for this premeditatedly brutal act; but neither earlier publications by Borovets' nor his new book presents concrete evidence for such accusations. Lebed', on the other hand, denied (in an interview with me in New York, 14 March 1953) having had anything to do with this assault on the Borovets' guerrillas or with mistreatment of the captives.

Allocation of personal responsibility for the tragic clash is likely to remain a matter of dispute, although the basic facts are no longer really at issue. Motives are, of course, less easy to determine. In his memoirs Borovets' presents a more detailed argument for avoiding "deconspiration" than he had published earlier, but the essence of his case remains his over-riding insistence on waiting judiciously for the moment when success against the Germans could be attained without entailing terrible Ukrainian losses after the Soviet forces had moved into Volhynia. Two years before I published *Ukrainian Nationalism,* Franz Borkenau analyzed (in *European Communism*) how similar prudence handicapped all moderate guerrilla forces in occupied Europe in competing with more ruthless forces, usually represented by Communist partisans but, in cases like the Ukraine, also by integral nationalist guerrillas. So Borovets's overall argument appears to be genuine, whether or not, from hindsight, one considers his course to have been the wisest.

It is unfortunate that polemics about the positions of rival nationalist guerrillas will tend to divert the reader's attention from other important aspects of the Borovets' memoirs, which devote relatively little space to factional strife. Much more prominent and (I think) instructive is his earlier experience in founding the "Olevsk Republic." Moreover, whereas the general outline of this creation of a nationalist administration and armed force in the vacuum left by Soviet defeat was already known, Borovets' provides numerous valuable details. He outlines the precise chronology and geographical extent of his Ukrainian militia's activity. He treats at length the considerable opposition carried out by Soviet stragglers and embryonic Red partisan detachments despite the extreme Soviet demoralization during August–October 1941. Information on his collaboration with the Belorussian nationalist militia and his arms-length relationship with German military authorities is of considerable interest. Especially useful, as evidence of what happens when a totalitarian regime collapses, is Borovets's account of the reactions of peasants, notably, the liquidation of the kolkhoz system.

For the student of nationalism as myth and personal psychology, the earliest part of the memoirs is equally valuable. In his youth, for Borovets' as for many of his and earlier generations of Ukrainians, the Cossack myth predominated. The family name itself had, it seems, once been simply "Borets'," i.e., warrior

or Cossack. His grandfather told him how his own ancestor had served with Mazepa against the "Muscovites," and took the young Taras to see a typical symbol of the heroic past, the grave mound (not far from Sarny) of the unfortunate hetman's Swedish allies. Language was also symbolically important, separating the Polissians whom Borovets' led from both Poles and Russians — but not (as far as his account implies) from their brothers across the Pryp"iat' River, even though the latter identified themselves as "Belorussians." Finally, there is the intensely emotional theme of Orthodoxy, understood both as creed and church organization, to which Borovets' firmly adhered — and which separated him from the Uniate Galicians. Despite such wartime links as collaboration with the Mel'nyk faction of the OUN, Galicians obviously remained rather alien for Borovets'.

It is impossible for me to know how much this account of Borovets' as a youth may have been colored by subsequent events or even, perhaps, by literary collaborators, for his earlier publications and my talks with him were too concerned with wartime events to permit broader reminiscing. On the whole, these first pages of his memoirs, like the rest, have an air of verisimilitude or at least consistency. Because the memoirs of Borovets' deal with serious stumbling blocks for Ukrainian unity in addition to providing new chapters for the saga of resistance to foreign oppression, they will trouble many readers. But they cannot be overlooked as a human document of immense significance for understanding what it means to be a Ukrainian.

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Professor Jaroslaw Pelenski has drawn our attention to what he considers to be inadequacies in the review of the book American and European Revolutions: Sociopolitical and Ideological Aspects, *which appeared under his editorship and was reviewed in the December 1981 issue. While we believe that the reviewer should be entitled to his opinions dealing with the substance of the work reviewed (whether we agree with them or not), we also grant that the closing part of the review in question, with its reference to NEH funding policy, was gratuitous. We hope that Professor Pelenski will accept this expression of our regret in the spirit in which it is given. For a different and more positive appraisal of the book the reader is directed to the review of this publication that appeared in the* American Historical Review, *vol. 87, no. 1 (February 1982), pp. 148–149.*

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